Indian Heritage

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Edited by

VASANTI MUZUMDAR

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Vasanti Muzumdar

PREFACE

This volume is being published on the occasion of the Regional Conference of International Council on Social Welfare (Asia and Western Pacific). The Organizing Committee would like to consider this volume as an expression of welcome to the delegates participating in this conference.

This work brings together articles written specially for this volume on various aspects of Indian history, culture, literature, economics and social life. The articles are supported as far as possible by historical information and critical analysis. We sincerely hope that these articles will serve the delegates as reference material for their deliberations or even for their general information.

Due to the obvious problems faced while printing a compilation of contributions of several authors, no attempt has been made to work out a uniform style of spelling, or orthography. We hope that the comprehensive coverage will more than compensate for the technical deficiencies and even for some typographical errors.

Publication of a work of this nature is essentially a product of the labours of a large number of contributors, friends and colleagues. The Editorial

Board is naturally indebted to all of them, however, special mention must be made of the help rendered by Shri G. S. Adivrekar, Shri Priyadarshan Vipra and Kumari Deepika Shah without whose co-operation this volume could not have been completed.

We are thankful to Shri A. C. Shah of Nallini Printery for completing the work in record time for the Conference. We are grateful to all the space donors for their generous support.

This volume is being published on behalf of the Indian Council of Social Welfare, which is a national forum of leading voluntary welfare organisations.

On behalf of the Editorial Board and on my own behalf, I would like to record sincere thanks to all those who gave spontaneous help and co-operation in many different ways to make possible this little token of our welcome to the distinguished delegates who have come to participate in this conference from various parts of the world.

Bombay
August, 1981

Vasanti Muzumdar
Editor

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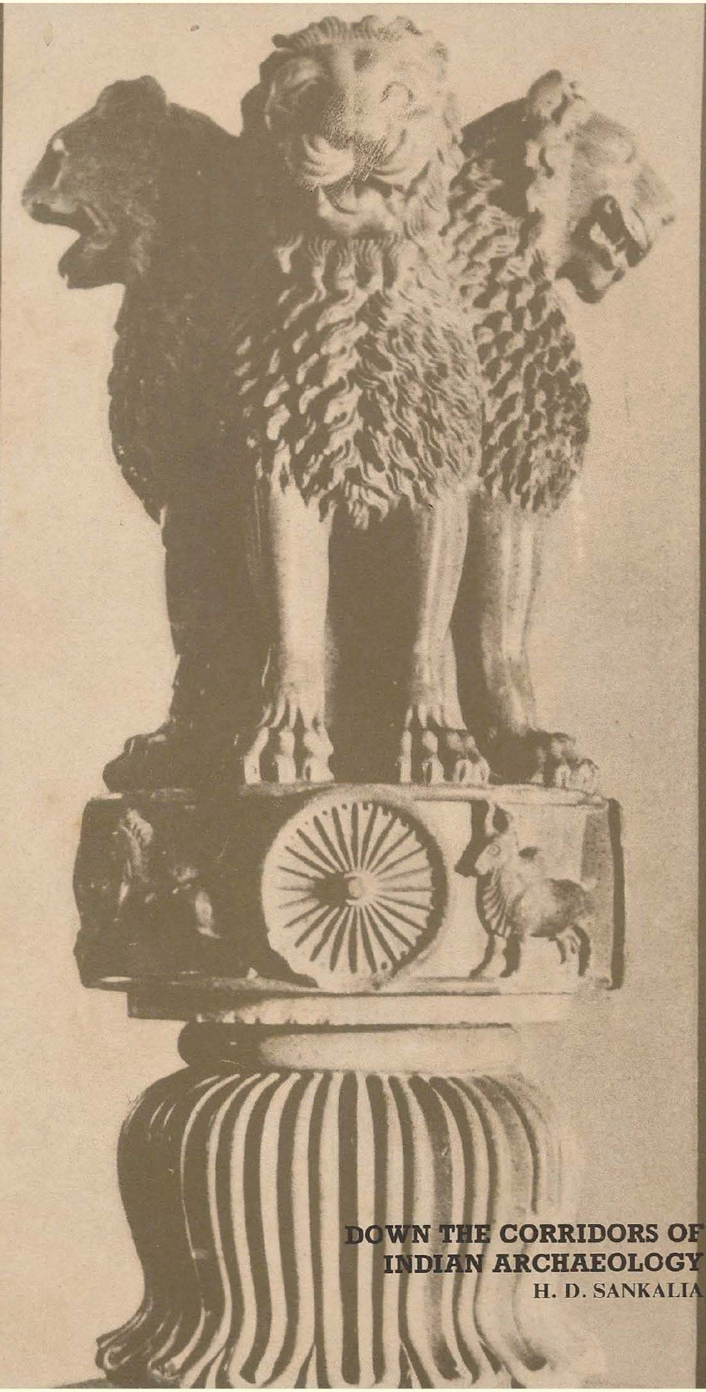
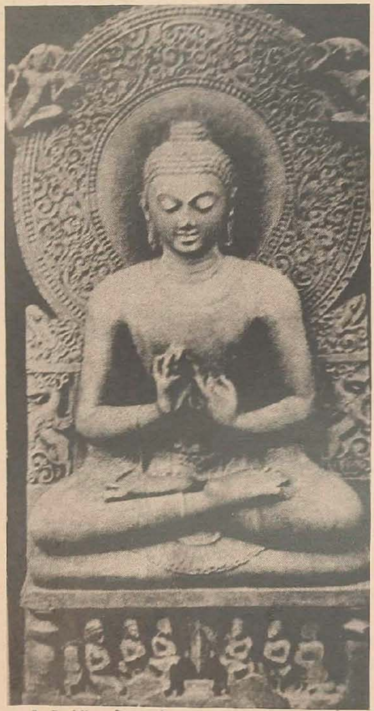


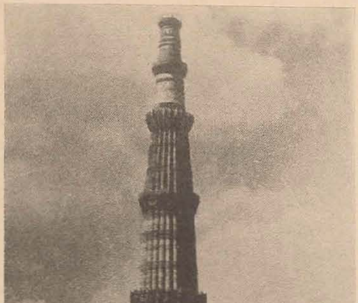
DOWN THE CORRIDORS OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

H. D. SANKALIA

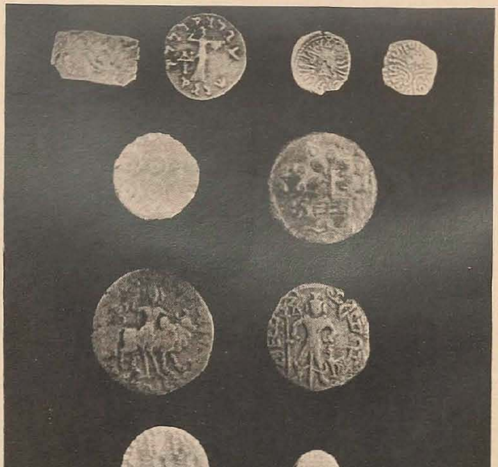


3. Buddha, Saranath

4. Hand Axe Nevasa



5. Qutub Minar, Delhi



6. Ancient Coins

Down The Corridors Of Indian Archaeology

H. D. Sankalia

Indian archaeological heritage is exceptionally rich. In fact, it is archaeology which has given India a respectable position in the comity of nations. For though it was known that India possessed the earliest literary record, viz. The *Rigveda,* still it was known by a continuous oral tradition. There was no tangible evidence to support it.

Then suddenly Harappa in the Punjab and Mohenjodaro in Sind were discovered between 1918-21. And at one stroke, India's past was taken back from the time of Ashoka c. 250 B.C. to c. 2500 B.C.

During the last 50 years (1930-1980) we have discovered relics going back 1,50,000 years, that is the Early Stone Age. Until 1930, it was supposed to be confined only to the south-east coast of India. Now such evidence has been found all over India, from Kashmir to Kanyakumari, and Bhuvaneshwar (Orissa) to Dwarka (Saurashtra-Gujarat). It has also been proved that there was a gradual development in the life of Early (or Stone Age) Man, as revealed by his stone tools. This long period has been divided into three broad sub-periods:

Early Palaeolithic (c. 1,50,000-50,000)

Middle Palaeolithic (c. 50,000-20,000)

Late Palaeolithic (c. 20,000-10,000)

Not only characteristic differences in the making of tools has been found from period to period, but even there is definite evidence of the birth of art, as in Western Europe.

This is credited to *Homo Sapiens* (modern man). Excellent evidence was provided by the excavation at Patne (District Jalgaon, Maharashtra) in the form of an incised decoration an ostrich shell, and a bone a figurine from the Balan Valley in U.P.

This long period was followed again almost all over India by a transitional phase, when man used tiny stone tools (microliths), and along with it began to make pottery. This is called Mesolithic, and though found practically all over India, the best evidence has so far come from the excavations in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, in the form of human skeletons buried in residential houses.

The Mesolithic Period was followed again almost all over India by a period, when man learnt the art of agriculture and domestication of animals, but

still used stone tools, which were ground or polished. Hence technically this period is called Neolithic. Until now it was known from several sites in South India, but is now also documented from Kashmir, and Northwest Frontier at Mehergarh on the Bolan River in Pakistan.

While Mehergarh serves as an excellent preface to the rich Indus civilization, this civilization itself has now been found all over Gujarat, Kutch, Saurashtra, and seen to have crossed Madhya Pradesh and reached Maharashtra.

Probably this civilization, on its decline, or because of the influx of new people, gave birth to several regional cultures, all over India, the best known so far being the Navdatoli on the Narbada and Nevasa-Jorwe on the Godavari and its tributaries in Maharashtra.

In a sense, this may be called an "Age of Pottery", because the most distinguishing feature everywhere was the pottery. Thus in the Ganga-Yamuna Valley, the Indus Civilization was succeeded by a culture known as the Painted Gray Ware Culture, after its characteristic pottery, whereas in the south the most distinctive pottery was Black-and-Red. Both in the north and south, iron tools and weapons were used. Hence, it is called the "Iron Age" as well. While we are still in the Iron Age, with all the latest developments in technology, the Pottery ceases to be distinctive after the 5th century A. D. But before this, it was enriched by the Northern Black Ware, in the north, with its silvery and golden finish and the Red Polished ware.

Thus during the last 60 years, archaeology has filled up important gaps in our knowledge of India's past history and culture, before 400 B. C. From then on, and particularly after 250 B. C., we have had a continuous chain of monuments in the Asokan Edicts on rocks and pillars, the Lion Pillar, at Sarnath the stupa at Sanchi, the Heliodorous Pillar at Vidisha. No less important are the extensive fields of Megaliths (huge, unknown stone structures) which dot the land from Nagpur to Madras. The makers of these were the earliest users of iron and a fine Black-and-Red pottery.

The story is now taken up by the rock-cut caves in Maharashtra (Kerala, Kanheri, Ajanta, Ellora) and the Stupas — such as Taxila (Pakistan), Nagarjuna Konda (Andhra Pradesh), Deoni Mori (Gujarat), Sanchi (Madhya Pradesh), Pauni (Maharashtra). These are but a few surviving relics of the birth and development of Buddhism from about c. 250 B.C. — 700 A.D.

A new artistic tradition emphasising the depiction of inner calm and graceful rendering of the human form is witnessed in the 4th century (now exemplified in the beautiful figures of the Buddha at Sarnath near Benaras). This tradition is seen at its best in the paintings in the Ajanta caves (Maharashtra), as well as in sculptures of the Brahmanic caves at Udayagiri (Madhya Pradesh), Elephanta near Bombay, Badami (Karnataka), Mahabalipuram near Madras, and later at Ellora.

In the east, where Buddhism continued to thrive, some of the best representative specimens the bronze figures from Nalanda and Sultanganj.

These indeed represent the "Age of Bronze". This had begun quite early, as shown by a solitary survival of a Danar from Harappa (c. 2500 B.C.), but begun to flourish vigorously about 500 A. D. when Hindus, Jains as well as Buddhists began to cast the images of their gods and goddesses in bronze. Those produced between 500-900 A. D. in Gujarat, Rajasthan as well as Eastern India and Nepal were quite artistic but later became lifeless, except in the South where under the Cholas beautiful bronzes were produced.

This tradition is also seen in stone sculptures, viz. images of gods, goddesses and their attendants which characterize "The Age of Temples," and "The Age of Bronze".

These idealized figures, were indeed the product of Yoga and Bhakti encouraged by the Gupta Kings (c. 350-500 A. D.). These gradually supplanted the earlier purely indigenous forms as seen in the Yakshas and Yakshinis and vegetal forms from Patna, Didarganz, Parkham, Besnagar, and Pavaya, and the Buddhas from Mathura as well as the Greeko-Roman-Kushana figures from Gandhara.

The Age of Temples

India's heritage in temples is perhaps the richest, and still living. Rightly regarded as a characteristic feature of the land, the first temples (c. 250 B. C.) were quite small, though even at that time, as at Sonkh, near Mathura, and Vidisha near Bhopal, these were decorated with the figures of deities they represent, such as Nagas. Later (c. 400-600 A. D.), the temples develop into five groups according to the shape form of the *Sikhara* (spire) over the Shrine-Chamber and geographical situation. Generally those in the north are called *Nagara,* in the east *Vesara,* and in the south *Dravida,* with many mixed or intermediate varieties. It is also customary to call these monuments after the rulers (dynasty) — such as Gupta, Chalukya, Pallava, Hoyasala, who built them.

Not only the temples grew in size both vertically and horizontally, and every available space on walls, pillars and ceilings (outside and inside) began to be decorated with figure and floral motifs, that gradually all over India we had veritable "Temple Cities." These were indeed living museums of art, iconography and religion, and today constitute our chief source for writting the history of art, architecture, and several aspects of social and religious life

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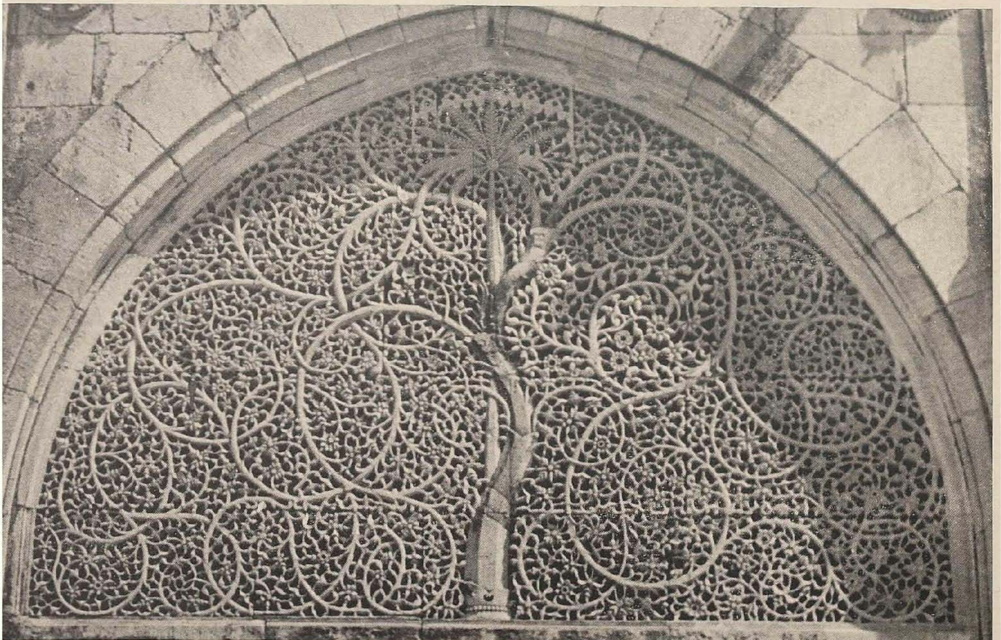
8. Nathdwara Painting, Jodhpur

9. Siddi Sayyid, Ahmedabad



for more than 1500 years. Some of these "Temple Cities" still survive, though deserted, for instance at Aihole (Karnataka), Kanchi or Conjeevaram (Tamil Nadu — 6th-9th century), Bhuvaneshwar (Orissa — 11th-13th), Khajuraho (9th-12th) M. P. Mt. Abu and Osia (Rajasthan — 7th-13th century). And a few of these such as Tirupati, Tiruvannamalai, Madura, Jagannathpuri (Orissa), Somanath, Dwarka and Pandharpur (Maharashtra), continue to attract thousands of pilgrims, as well as tourists even today.

The Age of Cities, Mosques, Mausoleums And Minarets

With the coming of Muslims — Arabs, Turks, Persians and Moghuls — India was exposed to a totally new culture. Though these iconoclasts destroyed a large number of Hindu and Buddhist monuments in Northern India (Sind, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal), they also created others, quite new and imposing. Remains of cities, mosques, mausoleums (tombs) and minerates built by them forms a rich heritage of which any country can be proud. This has two natural divisions or periods. To the first period belong monuments built by the Early Sultans of Delhi and their provincial governors who later became independent.

No less than five new cities were founded or created at Delhi, the first|second by Ala-ud-din in A.D. 1303, the third Tughlaqabad and the fifth by Firuz Shah known as Kotla Firuz Shah, Very little remains of these cities today, but Delhi has the credit of possessing the sites of the earliest and the latest cities of the world, and the largest number viz. seven.

Of the buildings or monuments gracing these first five cities, the most notable are Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, Qutb Minar, Mausoleum at Malkapur near Qutb (A. B. 1231-32). Tomb of Balban, Alai Darwaza, and the tomb of Tilangani.

The Qutb Minar is 225 ft. high. It has five storeys, and regarded as "a most perfect example in the world."

The mausoleum at Malkapur though simple is a fine, ornate example of Indo-Islamic art with calligraphic inscriptions. Alai Darwaza is a gem of Islamic architecture, exhibiting skilful fusion of Hindu and Islamic modes. The tomb of Balban is of great architectural significance because of the introduction of true arch.

Two new cities — Khizrabad and Mubarakbad were built during the rule of the Sayyid and Lodis.

These are now nothing but vast necropolis, but these culminated later as the grand mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram in Bihar, while Sikandar Lodi's tomb at Delhi lead to the introduction of "Double" tomb and the garden tomb of the Mughals. Among the mosques, Moth-ki Masjid is said to be the best in Lodi architecture.

During this period the Provinces which had become independent developed their own architecture. Among these only two can be briefly noticed here, viz. those at Mandu in Malwa (or Madhya Pradesh), and Gujarat.

Though both these bear impact of Delhi style, both are remarkable for their originality. At Mandu we have the most magnificent of the fortress cities in India as well as palaces. At Ahmedabad we have a fine fusion of Hindu and Muslim building tradition. Not only Ahmad Shah I founded a new city Ahmedabad, — now the Second Industrial capital in India — but it was regarded as the handsomest in Hindustan or perhaps in the whole world by Ferishta, Jami Masjid (1423 A. D.), called one of the noblest architectural compositions has its domes built up in the indigenous (that is trabeate) system. Another Rani Sipari mosque (1514 A.D.) has been described as the most exquisite gem in Ahmedabad, because of the harmonious blending of balance, symmetry and decorative rhythm. The semicircular screen in Sidi Sayyid Mosque has become world famous.

Not only the capital cities like Ahmedabad, but others like Cambay, and Broach in Gujarat, and Jaunpur (in particular) in Uttar Pradesh boasted of spacious and imposing mosques (The Atala Masjid).

The Mughals have left probably the richest architectural heritage in India. No less than three new cities were built at Delhi, one at Agra, and the other at Sikri during the course of 200 years, and these as well as others were literally studded with small and big mosques, mausoleums and minarets. Delhi's example was followed by Provincial Rulers, and some magnificent mosques and mausoleums were constructed in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Deccan, Karnataka, Bihar and Bengal.

No details of these Mughal creations can be given here, but it should be pointed out that it was one of the most glorious periods in India's long history. While the early Mughal Rulers were influenced by Afghan and Persian architectural styles, Akbar brought about a wonderful synthesis between the foreign and indigenous styles. This movement had a little setback under Shah Jahan when Persian and Turkish architects introduced new ideas, but all these resulted in the world's wonderful creation, the Taj at Agra.

No remains of the first Mughal capital called *Dinpanah* (World Refuge) by Humayun are now left. Of Sher Shah's capital at Purana Quila (Indrapat), only two gateways, a few rampart and a mosque remain. Of the other buildings, Moth-ki-Masjid as well as the Quila-i-Kuhna Masjid at Delhi is impor-

1. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* Islamic Period, pls. XLIII — XLV.

2. Percy Brown, pl. XXXIV.

tant as a link between the Tughluq (Khalji and later Mughal architectural style and decoration.

Most important is Sher Shah's grand mausoleum at Sasaram in Bihar. Set in the middle of a lake it is truly expressive of Indian genius in building art.

Akbar, though influenced by Sher Shah's buildings, developed a unified national style of architecture all over his vast empire. His new city at Fatehpur (Fathpur) presents the emperor's vision of an united India, particularly notable being the Jami Masjid and the palaces. Mansingh's fortress at Gwalior inspired him to plan similar one at Delhi, while Humayun's tomb is a fine example of Indian interpretation of a persian conception, and this as well as Abdur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan tomb at Delhi provided a link with the Taj.

Though Jahangir was not a great builder, Akbar's tomb at Sikandra near Agra is a unique creation, a natural transition between Akbar and Shah Jahan, when marble was substituted for red sandstone. A lover of colour as well as Nature, Jahangir introduced encaustic tiling and inlaid mosaic of hard precious stones (known as *pietra dura),* and the fine terrace garden — Nishat Bag at Srinagar in Kashmir.

A further link between Jahangir and Shah Jahan's architectural style and decoration is provided by Jahangir's mausoleum at Shahdara near Lahore, and that of I'timad-ud-Daula's at Agra. The latter's tomb is covered throughout by rich mosaic in white marble.

Shah Jahan's reign is notable principally for the new capital at Delhi, known as Shahjahanabad, a fortress citadel of unusual dimensions, containing splendid palaces, office buildings etc.; two grand mosques, one at Agra and the other at Delhi, and finally the Taj, called usually a "dream in marble." While the palace excels all other Mughal palaces in size, arrangement and magnificence, the Red Fort completed in about 1648 is even today used for all national purposes, particularly on the 15th August and 26th January, and may be called a "living heritage."

At Agra, several buildings were re-modelled. Of the new ones, the most elegant is the Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque), and the incomparable Taj, built in memory of his Begum Mumtaz Mahal. Not only it is a remarkable example of engineering skill for though built on a river bank, it has not suffered least least damage, it shows infinite skill of the workmen, particularly the craftsmen who have created the mosaic in marble with 42 precious stones.

With the Taj the Indo-Persian architectural design reaches its logical evolution. It is a creation of the whole Eastern world. An attempt to imitate this noble monument by Aurangazeb at Aurangabad, known as Bibika Muqbara, is a miserable copy.

During the five or six centuries of Muslim rule, India learnt the art of imposing buildings characterized by true arch, and strengthened by concrete and mortar and decorated by elaborate ornamentation with flowing arabesque, graceful calligraphy, painting, gilding, and *pietra dura* (inlay with precious stones).

Bijapur, a provincial capital in the Deccan, has surprisingly no natural protection, still when fortified by the Adil Shahi rulers in 1565 flourished for nearly 180 years. Of its surviving mosques, tombs and palaces, the Gol Gumbaz (Round Dome), the mausoleum of Mohammed Adil Shah (1626-57) is famous, as one of the largest single buildings in India. It is said to be larger than the Parthenon in Rome, while it can claim to be the largest domical roof in existence.[1]

Other Muslim rulers of Gulbarga, Bidar and Golconda have left a unique heritage during their rule of 350 years (1347-1687). Cities protected by strong bastions but architectually beautiful were constructed at Raichur, Narnala, Naldurg and Daulatabad, and equipped with typically Persian conveniences — underground *quannat* or running water. Their mosques were decorated with gilded colour tiles, and provided with graceful minarets.[2] Unique, was a Madrassa (Islamia College) at Bidar.[3]

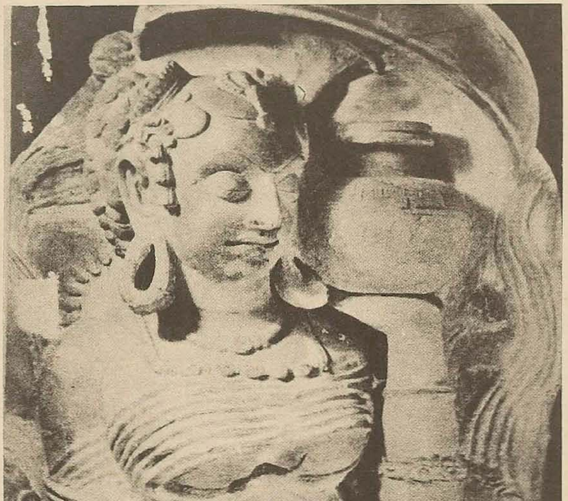
Thus was India exposed to typically Persian culture and further Mediaeval European ideas of fortification.

Shivaji probably inspired by these hill forts, fortified many more hills *in* Western Maharashtra. Of these, Raigad, his capital, Pratapgad and Sinhagad are well known.

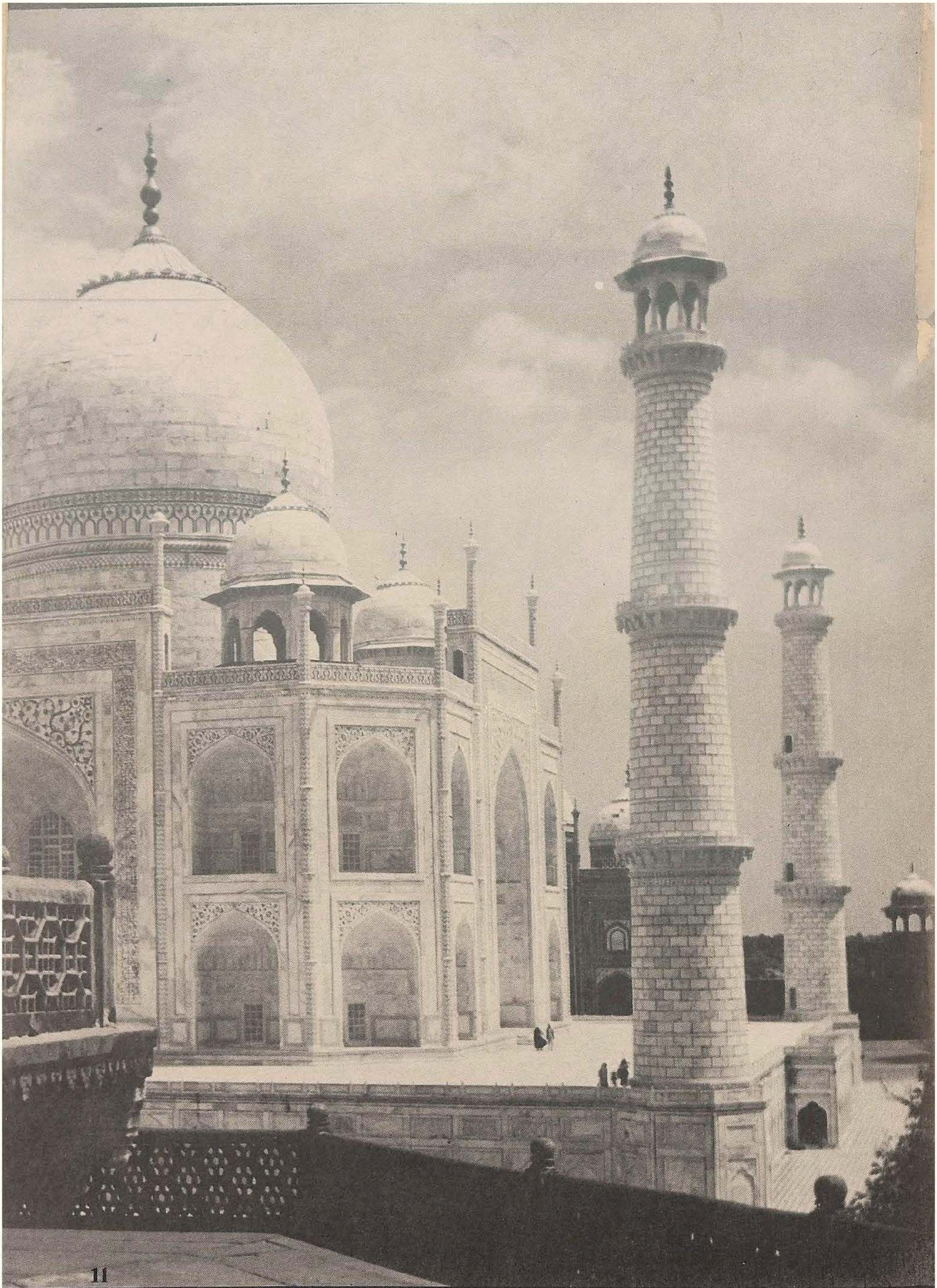
Vijayanagar, founded in the 14th-15th century as a bastion against Muslim onslaught has left a rich heritage in its ruins, such as "King's Audience Hall," "Throne Platform", but more so in the resurgence of temple architecture and temple complexes all over S. India. Particularly well known are the "Amman Shrine" (a subsidiary temple for the consort of the divinity) and the *Kalyana-mandapa* (an open pillared pavilion with an elevated platform in the centre for the exhibition of the main images on ceremonial occasions), and the *gopurams* (entrance gates to court). As instances may be mentioned the Vitthalasvami temple at Hampi, at Tadpatri (100 miles S. E. of Hampi), Rawati temple at Chidambaram, and the temples at Kanchipuram. The *Kalyana-mandapa* at Vellore is regarded as the richest and most beautiful structure of its kind, while the southern *gopuram* of the Ekambaranatha at Kanchi is the most important.

Among palace buildings of the Vijayanagar rulers the only surviving example is the palace in

1. Percy Brown op. cit., Pl. LI. Fig. 1-2, 2-3, XLVII, Fig. 1-2.



10. Terracotta : Ganges



the fort at Chandragiri. It is a fine example of the fusion of the Hindu and Muslim styles.

This tradition was given up by the Nayakas of Tanjore whose place at Madura (c. 1645 A.D.) illustrates the impact of western influence — Greek, Gothic and Spanish.

Another heritage which most probably began with this period were the huge wooden chariots. These are exquisitely carved and constitute a distinct archaeological wealth (though now difficult to maintain).

The contemporary and feudatory Rajput rulers of the Mughals built fine palaces. Of these the most notable are the palaces at Gwalior, Jodhpur, Jaipur (Hawa Mahal) Ambar and Orchha, particularly the Man Mandir, for the romantic treatment or joyous colouring of the palace, and the Elephant Gate.

Terracottas

Terracottas (figures of men and women and animals, made in clay and baked) either for children as toys or for other purposes (to decorate the walls of stupas and temples) also constitute a useful heritage as inventory of contemporary Indian art and style as well as social tastes and ethnic groups.

Archaeologically the best and richest collections are found in Northern India (Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Taxila, Hastinapur, Bandopal, Mathura Kausambi, Ahichhatra, Patna, Buxur, Nalanda, Bangarh, Paharpur and Chandraketugarh), all sites in the upper and lower Indo-Gangetic plains because the soil (clay) here is most suitable for modelling, and rarely elsewhere, such as Ter, Nevasa (Maharashtra) and Deoni Mori (Gujarat).

The earliest — Harappan — terracottas are not artistically attractive, though truly expressive of the contemporary life. Later due to the Greeko-Roman influence and rapid spread of Buddhism, figures of Buddha and scenes from his life came to be rendered in stucco, particularly in Gandhara. Later the followers of Shiva and Vishnu were similarly inspired, and we have some of the most artistic specimens from *Ahichhatra* (Shiva-Parvati), Lakshmi (Kausambi), and Buxur (Patna), Bangarh, and Paharpur, while the numerous Maithuna ones from Chandraketugarh are really an enigma.

Thus we have a fairly rich heritage of terracottas from the Harappan (c. 2500 B.C. to 1200 A.D.).

Gold Ornaments.

Unlike some museums in Greece and Egypt, few museums in India contain objects of gold. But one of the finest and richest collection may be seen in the museum ot Taxila, found by Sir John Marshall

Coins.

Coins not only form a rich and varied heritage, but it is little known (except to scholars) that it was with the help of Indo-Greek coins that the ancient script of India, *viz.* Brahmi was deciphered. Later with these and other coins that the Early History of India was reconstructed; that it was the gold coins of the Kushanas which familiarized Indians with gold coinage, and Central Indian dress, including boots, chudidar payajama and long coat or a *Zhabha.*

Though numerous regional and sub-regional rulers minted their own coins, right up to the 19th century, still the most noteworthy is the coinage of two Imperial rulers, *viz* the Guptas, (c. 350 A.D.—500 A.D.) and the Mughals (1526-1719 A.D.). The former is well known for beauty and variety of their thoroughly indigenous gold and silver coinage.

The Mughal coinage is not only famous for its amazingly rich variety, but for the fact, that it maintained the high standard and purity of its gold and silver for 300 years. This has considerably influenced the contemporary and subsequent coinage, (such as that of Tipu Sultan of Mysore) while its standard coin, the rupee, (the name first introduced by Sher Shah) has become a part of Indian life and figures in all languages of the world. Again bilingual legends which grace our rupee today appear first on Indo-Greek coins (c. 150 B.C.) in Greek and Brahmi, later on the earliest Muslims' Coins, *viz* ornate Arabic and Nagari (A.D. 1206-1329).

The earliest coins bore only symbols, like the Sun. Hence these are called Punchmarked coins. These are of silver and copper. Whereas the gold coins of Muhammad bin Sam, the first Muslim Sultan of Delhi has a figure of Lakshmi on the obverse, in imitation of the coins of Kanauj. This is unparalleled in Muslim history, as also a token issued by Muhammad bin Tughlaq has an inscription in Nagari, and the silver coins — true rupees — of Sher Shah, his name in faulty Hindi.

All these and many other features make these minor monuments a rich Indian heritage.

The Age Of Painting, Engraving

India has a rich and continuous heritage in art, sculpture, painting and engraving. At times, as during the early Historical times, art was handmaid of architecture, but now increasing evidence is being found for its independent existence.

Rock-art as the paintings and engravings are called, is now found extending from Bhopal (Madhya Pradesh) in the west to the borders of Uttar Pradesh, a distance of more than 400 miles. This is in addition to the rock-art in Andhra and Karnataka, and the recent ones in Kashmir, Kerala, and Gujarat. The earliest paintings in white, red and green are believed to be 10,000 years old, and the latest about 300 A.D.

The Age of Prehistoric "Adivasi" paintings now seems to close, and that of "classical" or "Semi-

religious" begins. With the spread of Buddhism, not only hundreds of caves were carved out from living rock in Maharashtra and some in Madhya Pradesh, but many of them were embellished with beautiful paintings depicting the scenes from the life of Buddha as well as contemporary history.

The paintings at Ajanta are truly classical in the sense that the figures of men and women are imbued with life and have fully rounded and modelled form.

Theses features appear as distant heritage in the paintings at Ellora (8th-9th century), and the early mediaeval temples (1100-1300 A.D.) at Narttamalai (former Pudukottai State) and the temples at Tanjore, and Tirumalai and later in the temples of the Nayaka period. Thus in South India, there is a continuous tradition of about a thousand years, and one can study the transition from the Classical to Mediaeval when figures show beak-noses and fish-shaped eyes.

This painting traditions has also enriched the Javanese sculpture and through it the contemporary murals in Burma and Siam.

This artistic heritage received a new direction when the Jains in Gujarat and Rajasthan began to illustrate their religious Mss. with painting. Thus started the School of Miniature Paintings. Very much stylized in early Jaina Mss of the 15th century, it became more naturalistic when first under Humayun and then Akbar and Jahangir, Persian masters (as well as Indians from various centres) began to illustrate first biographies of Mughal emperors, and then prepare their portraits and depict scenes of life in the court and field. First the Persian and then Indo-Persian, Perso-Rajasthani and Deccani Schools flourished. In the Mughal Period Mss. of the *Bhagvat Purana, Ramayana, Mahabharata and* other Puranas came to be illustrated. These are now dispersed in the Museums and Art Collections in India and all over the world.

These miniature paintings constitute a rare and unique heritage, though little known even to scholars. Even as late as the early 18th century a beautiful, completely gold-gift Mss. of *Bhakta-amara-stotra* was prepared at Calcutta for Jagat Sheth, the Merchant Prince of Calcutta.

A few, most important or well known illustrated Mss. are mentioned here chronologically, with their present location.

1. *Kalpasutra-Kalakacharya Katha* (PWM. Bombay) c. 1350 A.D.
2. *Kalpasutra* from Mandu (N. M. Delhi) c. 1439 A.D.
3. *Vasanta Vilasa,* Ahmedabad c. 1451 A.D.
4. *Nimatnama* (on cooking), Mandu, c. 1500 A.D.
5. *Hamzanama,* and *Shahnama* (Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras) c. 1480 A.D.

Period of Transition

6. *Aranyaka Parvan* of the Mahabharata, (Asiatic Society, Bombay), c. 1500 A.D.
7. *Bhagavata Purana* (PWM. B) c. 1500 A.D.
8. *Mahapurana* (Early Mughal), c. 1540 A.D.

Early Mughal

9. *Datani-Amir Hamza or Hamzanama* (Vienna and London), c. 1575 A.D.
10. *Razmnama* — Jaipur Museum. c. 1580 A.D.
11. *Ramayana* — Jaipur Museum c. 1588 A.D.
12. *Akbarnama* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London), c. 1580.
13. *Babar-nama,* (N. M. Delhi), c. 1595-96.

New Traditions — Jahangir Period

14. *Rajni-kunwar,* (Chister Beattey Library) 1602.

Deccanese Paintings

15. *Tarif-i-Husain* Shahi (BISM, Poona) c. 1565-69.
16. *Nujum-al-ulm* (Chister Beattey Library) c. 1570.

Another little known heritage, are the wooden book covers (*Pata)* and scroll paintings in cloth. Of these the most famous are the *Pichhavais of Nathadvara* in Rajasthan.

In Eastern India, Bengal, Bihar, Nepal paintings occur though rarely, first as engravings on copper plates and then in miniatures of a highly conventional nature on the Mss, of *Prajnapara-mita* compared to those of Gujarat-Rajasthan, the figures appear sensitive and emotional, but not lifeless. In Nepal these become increasingly mediaeval and appear on book covers and *Prabhavalis.*

The account should be brought up to the end of 1860, when an object ceased to be archaeological. However few works deal with important buildings built between 1600-1860. No doubt, very few artistic buildings were built or any paintings made. But it was during this period that the Gothic type buildings with pointed towers, and very high, angular, roofs were built in Bombay and Poona. The magnificent station Victoria Terminus (V.T.) and the Town Hall were built towards the close of this period, as well as the Library Building and Rajabai Tower, and those of the Deccan College, and Poona University. These are our latest heritage and as Sir Mortimer Wheeler put it "truly archaeological" when he saw them.

What to see and Where

1. Stone Age Tools :
   - a) University Museum, Allahabad, U.P.
   - b) University Museum, Baroda, Gujarat
   - c) Deccan College Museum, Pune
   - d) Kannada Research Museum, Dharwar, Karnataka
   - e) Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay
   - f) National Museum, New Delhi.
   - g) Govt. Museum, Madras.
   - h) Indian Museum, Calcutta.
2. Pottery
   - i) Harappan or Indus Civiliza tion National Museum, New Delhi.
   - ii) Jorwe, Navdatoli, Deccan College, Pune.
   - iii) Painted Grey Ware & NBP || New Delhi and Patna Museum, Patna.
3. Terracotta
   - i) National Museum, New Delhi.
   - ii) Patna Museum, Patna.
   - iii) Allahabad Museum, Allahabad.
   - iv) University Museum, Baroda
   - v) Jodhpur Museum, Jodhpur.
   - vi) Jaipur Museum, Jaipur.
4. Bronzes
   - i) National Museum, New Delhi.
   - ii) Govt. Museum, Madras.
5. Coins
   - i) National Museum, New Delhi.
   - ii) Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
6. Illustrated Manuscripts: (Select list given in the Article)

N.B.: This list is not exhaustive, nor does it claim to mention all the important collections that these and other Museums — Public and Private — possess.

Thus one of the finest and richest — One Man Collection — is in the Raja Kelkar Museum, Pune whereas paintings etc. can be seen at the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras (Varanasi).

MAINSPRINGS OF INDIAN MYTHOLOGY

T. G. MAINKAR

Mainsprings Of Indian Mythology

T. G. Mainkar

India can be regarded as unique in being a cradle of many cultures and religions. Different races and tribes have settled here, merging themselves in the broad stream of Indian life that has in this process preserved its intrinsic thought and culture almost from the primitive times. Thus, this culture has a wonderful continuity as well as a bewildering variety, for it has been an immense synthesis throughout. This fact is clearly reflected in Indian mythology, for mythology of a people is its religion, poetry and science all in one. The Indian people, the Aryans, the Dravidians the Kiratas and the Nisads all have contributed to this mythology which, therefore, is a creation of all these people. From the point of the religions which contributed towards the shaping of this mythology could be mentioned Brahmanism or Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism where Brahmanical mythology has served as the base. Myths and legends, gods and goddesses have been taken over, modified and changed to suit the purpose at hand and in the service of the doctrine desired. In an effort to have a glance at this very varied, complex and interesting mythology, it would be worthwhile to study it in the chronological order, of these religions.

Hindu Mythology

The complex Hindu mythology is a very long growth and its elements come from the Indo-Iranians, Indian Aryans, Dravidians and the indigenous people. Its development can be spoken of as having taken place in two periods, the Vedic period and the Puranic period; for in these two periods there seem to have been at work two distinct tendencies and trends of thought and as a result old gods fall in eminence giving place to new ones. The Vedic period roughly covers the times from 1500 B.C. to about 600 B.C. the times of the Buddha. The different Vedic Samhitas, the Brahmanas, the Upanisads and the ancillary texts connected with this literature, all together give a clear picture of this mythology, which is both naturalistic and ritualistic in character. There are neither temples nor any images of these early gods and it is the hymns addressed to them that give us some idea about them, about their forms and exploits. These early myths are often blurred, vague and capable of different interpretations so that these gods also remain vague and complex. These Vedic gods are Asuras, very strong and mighty and this is

an Indo-Iranian element in their character. They are distributed over three places, the heavens, the mid-regions and the earth and they mostly represent some natural phenomenon. The primitive couple is that of the Dyaus, the Sky and the Prthvi, the female broad earth. Aditi, infinite space is the mother of the gods Adityas and in this sense she is the cosmic mother. Her sons are Varuna, Mitra, Surya, Pushan, Vishnu, Savitri and the Martand is the eighth Aditya, born of a dead egg, the popular Surya who daily moves through the sky in a car drawn by seven horses driven by a lame driver. Ushas is the beautiful Dawn, ever fresh young bride of the Sun; at times she is his daughter and also is the daughter of the Sky. This account will indicate how the relations between the gods were not fixed and depended upon how a phenomenon was looked at. The red colours of the eastern sky are her dress; at times the Sun destroys her for she disappears when the Sun appears and at times she becomes the mother of the Sun for the Sun follows her. The Ashvinau are the twin Vedic gods, horsemen and divine physicians. They are the sons of the Sun and Saranyu, the mare, a personification of a swiftly moving cloud. They are handsome youths, move in a golden three-wheeled car drawn by birds as well as by horses. They participate in the divine races and win through their ass. They help fighting men and women, also all those in distress like perishing princes and barren women. They make the old Chyavana young which is probably the natural rejuvenation of the Setting Sun that appears next morning; they restore eye-sight to the blind and legs to the lame.

Varuna, the chief amongst the Adityas, is a sovereign ruler of the sky. His description Asura Medhavi suggests that he has some close relation with the Ahura Mazda of the Indo-Iranian times. He has his home in the waters in the mid-regions and is the guardian of the holy Laws, the Vratas. Nothing escapes his attention and he punishes the moral offenders with his noose and inflicts dropsy on them. Varuna as the lord of the Laws is usually associated with Mitra, the god of friendship, bonds and contracts. Varuna mounts an aquatic monster, half-bird half-crocodile and has the bright sky as the garment. Varuna, however seems here to be on the decline making room for Indra, the most powerful and the most human of the Vedic gods. If Varuna is connected with the Vratas, the laws, Indra is connected with the Vritras, the enemies against whom he is always engaged in wars. He rules over the mid-regions and slays Vritra to release water for the benefit of man. Vritra hems in the water and arrests their natural flow and hence might be the Cloud. With his weapon Vajra Indra kills his enemies, Vritra, Sambara, Susna, Vala, who are either the Dasas or the Dasyus and represent the non Aryan element. Indra is the Warrior, Kshatriya ruler of the universe and his extreme addiction to Soma, the intoxicating drink of the times and to women makes him human. He is invoked in wars, mounts the elephant Airavata. He shatters the chariot of Ushas and in this aspect he is the Sun-rise. He thus seems to have in him two elements that of the Sun-god and that of the Rain-god. He is therefore connected with the release of the light, of the cows and of the waters. His constant fights with the serpent-like coiling clouds make him a great Warrior. As the leader of the gods, he is assisted by Agni, Maruts, Soma and Vishnu in his exploits. His domestic life with his wife Shachi and his trouble with his pet monkey, Vrishakapi make him extremely human and interesting. The Maruts, Rudra and Parjanya and the friends of Indra and all of them are essentially connected with terrible winds, thunder and torrential rains. These gods tilt the enormous urn or waters over the earth, pile up hills over hills and mountains over mountains; the universe trembles at their approach and is full of fear. All these facts make them related with the clouds, thunder and rains. Rudra has both pleasant as well as unpleasant traits and is probably a deity of the indigenous people taken over by the Aryans. Vishnu also appears to be like Rudra, a god taken over by the Aryans from the indigenous people; he might have been a god of fertility and given a solar character as his exploits of the Three Steps, trivikrama, would indicate. These two gods play a dominant role in the later mythology and religion by becoming the most powerful and popular gods. Agni is the friend of man from the primitive times and is here chiefly a ritualistic deity. As Lightning he is the Child of the Waters; as a product of friction between two Aranis, pieces of wood he is the son of two mothers and since the ten fingers play a part in this act he is the lover of ten maidens. He carries the offerings to the gods, is therefore their mouth and so also is the messenger from man to the gods. His flames are his tongues and he is the Devourer for he is never satiated. In his representations he mounts a ram and his two heads signify the sacrifical fire and the domestic hearth; in his hands he carries a fan, an axe, a torch and a sacrificial ladle. Tired of being constantly yoked to work Agni hid himself in waters whence the gods regained him. Soma, another very important ritualistic deity was originally the plant, the juice of which when mixed with milk was the invigorating drink to be taken at a sacrifice. It came to be deified and indentified with the Moon. The Soma is the son of Parjanya and a Falcon brings him down to men. Like Agni Soma also has a real as well as a mythical existence. Soma as the Moon marries the twenty-seven constellations all of them daughters of Daksa, who on noticing the special love of the Moon for Rohini condemned him to consumption and faintness. Yama, the son of the Sun, is the first mortal to die and is the King of the Dead. He

has gone to the regions from which there is no return and he rules over that region to which all beings go. He has two dogs that guard the path to his place. Prajapati is the father of the gods and the demons and later becomes the creator, Brahma who creates and fixes the destinies of beings. He had five heads, but one of them was cut off by Shiva for having conceived a passion for his own daughter Sandhya and he is therefore a god with four mouths, Chaturmukha. He created the Golden Egg in the very primitive waters and when it was split into two parts the higher and the lower universes or spheres came into existence. He is also responsible for the Vedas. Later, he receives in Sarasvati a wife who is the goddess of learning.

Among the minor deities, the Gandharvas and the Apsaras are beautiful spirits given to dance and music and form a group of minstrels at the divine court. They are often used to tempt and seduce holy and virtuous ascetics and men who approach godhood and thus threaten the gods and aspire for the throne of Indra. Urvashi, Menaka, Ghritachi, Chitraratha are some of the more famous amongst them in myths and legends. The river Ganga also joints this group of spirits and her romance with the King Santanu is as well known as that of Urvashi and the King Pururavas. Kama is the Indian Eros and has been very beautifully conceived. He is extremely handsome, has a bow of flowers with a string of humming bees and as arrows five flowers with which he mercilessly attacks the whole living universe. On his banner stands a fish and his wife is Rati, the female paragon of beauty and the sentiment of love incarnate. This very Kama appears as Mara, the tempter, in the Buddhist mythology where he is represented as having attacked the Buddha with his army and daughters when the latter was on the threshold of the Enlightenment.

This early mythology virtually forms the basis for the popular or the Puranic mythology which is seen to be reflected in the two epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and the Eighteen main Puranas. The worship of nature and the sacrifice recede into the background and a new theistic cult of devotion, Puja and surrender reigns supreme in the religious field. The Vedic gods become here faint personalities and Rudra Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma, known popularly as the celebrated Trimurti, now dominate the field. Brahma is the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver and Shiva is the Destroyer. Brahma remains very much the same as before but springs from a lotus that emanates from the navel of Vishnu. Shaivism and Vaishnavism have materially contributed to the development of this new popular mythology. These two popular cults carried away everything before them and influenced the poets and the artists alike.

Shiva Rudra retains most of his pre-Vedic and Vedic traits of being a Pashupati, lord of cattle, a Yogin, an ascetic dwelling in a cemetery and is associated with ghosts and vampires. He is known as Bhava, Kala, Bhairava, Shiva, Sharva and Mahadeva and these are his names that indicate his benevolent as well as malevolent aspects. He is 'digambara' naked, his body is besmeared with ashes, he has matted hair and has a third additional eye on his forehead, whence his name Trilochana. The crescent Moon adorns his hair while the Ganges has descended on his head when she came down to the earth in response to the appeal of King Bhagiratha. Serpents are his bracelets and he wears a garland of human skulls. All these facts only indicate his extreme detachment and a life of meditation and *yoga*. He is vitally connected with the fine arts of drama, music and dance and the *Tandava* dance is traced to him while the *lasya*, the delicate dance is traced to Parvati, his wife. The *Tandava* of Shiva has a cosmic meaning. He consumed the deadly poison *Kalakuta* to save the world from it, and it burnt his throat as it went down hence his name Nilakantha. Sati, the daughter of Daksha was his first wife but Daksha had no regard for Shiva because of his strange life. At his sacrifice Sati went uninvited and was neglected, so she in a rage threw herself into the sacrificial fire. Shiva on knowing this incident sent his devotee Virabhadra against Daksha who destroyed the sacrifice of Daksha and killed him; but Daksha was restored back to life with the head of a ram. After the death of Sati, Shiva took to ascetism and *yoga* but the gods wanted him to marry Parvati, the daughter of the Himalayas as they desired the son of Shiva to lead them in their war against the invincible Tarakasura. Parvati also had set her mind on Shiva. Gods, therefore, requested Kama, the god of love and passion, to make Shiva his victim. Kama tried to disturb Shiva while he was in meditation and Parvati was waiting on him. Realising this, enraged Shiva opened his third eye and reduced Kama to ashes. Since then Kama is bodiless, Ananga and has names like *Manasija*, *Manobhava* that indicate his mind-born character. But Shiva relented ultimately and accepted Parvati as his wife and their son Skanda or Kartti-keya led the gods to victory by killing the demon Tarakasura. The other son of Shiva is Ganesha, the lord of learning and warder of difficulties. He has the head of an elephant as his head and has one tusk only; his vehicle is a mouse while that of Skanda is a peacock. Ganesh has two wives Riddhi and Siddhi, prosperity and success, while Skanda is unmarried and women are not allowed to worship him. In the South, however, he is Subrahmanyam and has two wives. Skanda is also known as the son of Agni and of the Krittikas for the seed of Shiva, extremely hot was passed on to them. Shiva has killed the demon Tripura and has destroyed his three aerial cities but generally the demons are his devotees and by grant-

ing them boons, Shiva has created problems for the gods in general and for Vishnu in particular. Parvati is the Energy of Shiva; has many names like *Uma, Ambika, Bhairavi, Gauri, Karali* and *Durga* representing her terrible and soft aspects. As Durga she has ten arms in which she carries different weapons like a trident, an arrow, a bow, a noose etc., and mounting a lion she kills the demon Mahisha. Shiva and Parvati together form the *Ardhanari Nateshvara* form of the god. From primitive times Shiva is represented by a Linga, a conic cylinder, a phallus, and in this form he is worshipped almost everywhere. He appears to be connected with the god Murugan of the South. He has no incarnations.

Vishnu like Shiva has been the most popular god in the Puranic times and Vaishnavism has created its own Vishnu mythology. From the Vedic times the exploit known of Vishnu was that of the three steps in sky; the Puranas have retained this exploit but they speak of it in the context of the demon Bali whom with the third step on his head Vishnu pushed to the lower worlds. Vishnu is the preserver of the world who protects it in times of chaos. There are ten incarnations, *Avataras,* of Vishnu spoken of in the Puranas, they being the Matsya, a fish, Varaha, a wild boar, Kurma, a tortoise, Dwarf, Vamana, Parasurama Bhargava, Rama Dasharathi, Krishna and Kalki. Even the Buddha is regarded as an incarnation of Vishnnu. As the Fish, Vishnu saved the world at the time of the Deluge; as the Boar he lifted the world out of the mire, as the Tortoise he provided the fulcrum for the Mount Mandara at the time of the Churning of the Ocean by the gods and the demons, as the Dwarf he destroyed the demon Bali; as the Man-Lion, Narasimha, he killed the demon Hiranyakashyapu, who had become almost invincible as he was according to a boon not to be killed by a man or a beast during day or night, as Parashurama Bhargava he killed the arrogant Kshatriyas, as Rama, the son of Dasharatha he abandoned the throne to honour the word of his father and killed Ravana, the demon king of Lanka who abducted his wife Sita; as Krishna he killed the tyrant demon Kamsa and helped Pandavas to win their war against the Kauravas for the kingdom of Hastinapura. It is Krishna who has narrated the Bhagavadgita to Arjuna on the battlefield to urge for a greater effort to do his appointed duty. Thus Vishnu has descended to the world several times to save it whenever evil forces threatened its destruction or the world needed a saviour. His weapon is the discus and he mounts the Garuda. His wife is Laxmi, glory and he resides in the ocean sleeping on the serpent Shesha; his other place is the Vaikuntha to which all his supreme devotees go. From his naval emanates a lotus on which is seated Brahma, the Creator. The Pole Star is his devotee Dhruva who is so placed by him when pleased with his devotion. At the Amritamanthana, the Churning of the Ocean, the gods and the demons secured the Amrita, the drink of immortality but there mounted great tension when the problem of its distribution arose. Vishnu assumed the form of Mohini and solved the problem when the gods and the demons were asked to be seated in two lines and he as Mohini undertook to distribute impartially the drink. Rahu, the demon, seeing the partiality of Mohini for the gods sat in their line and Vishnu cut off Rahu's head; the head became the demon Ketu while the trunk became Rahu and since then these two demons are harassing the Sun and the Moon and thus occur their eclipses. Of these different Avataras, the Krishna avatara has been a very popular one and has given rise to the Bhagavata Cult which has its own mythology. The life of Krishna in Vrindavana as a child and as a lover of the Gopa-women, his rasa dance with them, his lifting of the Govardhana mountain on his small finger to save people from the torrential rains, his vanquishing of the Kaliya Cobra and destruction of the several demons form the kernal of this mythology.

Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Krishnaism are the three powerful devotional Cults that have given rise to the Puranic mythology which has as a matter of fact thrown the Vedic mythology completely in the background. It is this mythology that has provided themes to the poets and playwrights and to the plastic arts.

Buddhist Mythology

Three distinct elements have made the Buddhist mythology rich and full of variety. They are the elements borrowed from the pre-existing religions, elements provided by the primitive Buddhism and the elements provided by the Mahayana Buddhism.

The Brahmanical pantheon full of gods and goddesses, of semidivine beings like the Yakshas, Gandharvas and the like is retained here but without its former glamour. These beings are here assigned a very subordinate role and they are the usual attendants on the Buddha whenever he is on his visits to places and they often request the Buddha to preach the Law, the Dhamma, they attentively listen to his sermons, witness the miracles performed by him and often shower celestial flowers on a gathering of monks. It is to perform these functions that these Brahmanical deities float in air and as such are presented as holding garlands over the head of the Buddha on the Buddhistic bas-reliefs Brahma and Indra or Shakra, possibly the most important amongst them, are nothing more than mere attendants of the Buddha. Brahma descends from the Brahmaloka as an ascetic with the usual waterpot, 'Kamandalu' in his hand. Shakra appears as the companion of the Buddha in his previous lives and his duty is to help the Buddha. Indra's throne gets hot to remind him of his duty by the Buddha. He is richly dressed, bedecked with jewels, wears a turban on his head and carries the Vajra in his hand. Mara is the Brahmanical Kama and is here the god of love and

death, thus being a combination of the Vedic Mrityu and Kama. He tries to tempt the Buddha and thus prevent him from obtaining the Englightenment; later he tries to disuade him from preaching the Dhamma. His attack on the emaciated Buddha with his army of evil forces and three daughters Thirst, Pleasure and Desire and his repulsion and defeat by the latter is an epic struggle. The idea of the Lokapalas also appears here and accordingly Kubera Vaishravana guards the North, Virudhaka the South, Dhritarashtra the East and Virupaksha the West. The Gandharvas and the Nagas also appear in this mythology and are connected with great wealth and supernatural powers. Amongst the lower creatures the Pretas are to be seen here who with needle-like mouths unable to eat or drink are condemned to hell. This element may be from the primitive Buddhism itself.

It is the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas who are of great importance in the Buddhist mythology. They are no doubt men, but on account of their chastity, devotion and serenity have become superior to the gods. They are omniscient, free from passions, do not transmigrate and enter *Nirvana*. The Buddhas like Gotama and Maitrya appear only to renew the dying faith. The Bodhisattva is destined to get Bodhi in his next human existence. But it is the legend of Gotama Buddha that the Buddhist mythology revolves. The chief incidents in his life and the chief personalities that played part in them supply the material for this mythology. The Buddha legend, historical in original was emebellished with divine interventions and supernatural elements and as consequence the Birth, the Great Departure, the Enlightenment, the Temptation, the First Preaching of the Dhamma and the Pariniravana become the chief material for literature as well as for plastic arts.

The Mahayana Buddhism developed by about the first century A.D. also richly contributed to the development of this mythology by creating almost a new pantheon. The Dhyani Buddhas in addition to the human Buddhas reigning over the Paradise, female divinities perhaps developed under the Tantric influence and magic connected with them now enliven the incidents. Trees and creatures associated with the Buddha also became sacred and mention can be made of the Fig tree, the Jambu tree and the Champaka tree. The Wheel, the Empty Throne, the Footprints, the Parasol over the Empty Space became the representations of the Master. In the Nativity, Maya the mother of the Buddha are significantly represented in art, for Maya is shown as sitting on a lotus and as being besprinkled with water by two wild-elephants holding water-pots in their trunks, the infant is however absent.

The Miracles performed by the Buddha also have enriched the mythology. Among them can be memtioned the taming of the mad and infuriated elephant Nadagiri through sheer spiritual power; the great Miracle where the flames of fire came forth from the shoulders of the Buddha while at the same time water flowed from his feet; the multiplication of the Buddhas while seated on the hundred-petaled lotus presented by Nanda and Upananda; the offering of honey by the monkey king to the Budha; the taming of the serpents and the conversion of the Kassapas; the taking away of Rahula and the conversion of his cousin Nanda, the war of the relics, their distribution and construction of the Stupas on them all these events and incidents are a major part of the Buddhist mythology that has been very popular with the laity and the artists. Equally significant is the contribution by the Jatakas to this mythology. These Jatakas, illustrative of the inexorable Law of Retribution in the different lives of the Buddha, have brought in a very attractive element in the form of animals and birds. The Chhaddanta Jataka of the elephant with six beautiful tusks, the Vessantara Jataka of the Prince giving away everything including his wife and children to the beggars; the Sibi Jataka where the Bodhisattva gives away his flesh to save a dove are stories where animals come to rare and impressive life.

Among other popular mythological figures can be mentioned the Mahayana creations of Amitabha, Avalokitesvara, Maitreya, Dipamkara and Manjushri who form the galaxy of the Buddhas and their associates. Female divinities like Tara, Hariti, Ekajata, Janguli, Marici also appear here and are malevolent as well as benevolent in character. The gooddess Prajnaparamita is a personification of transcendental knowledge but these deities do not have great significance or magnitude.

Jain Mythology

This mythology, a third current in Indian mythology, is a creation of the Jainas and it has a Brahmanical base and Buddhistic tendencies. Works like the Trisastisalakapurusa carita and the Sthaviravali carita narrate the lives of the Tirthankaras, the teachers of the Faith and of the disciples of Mahavira but the accounts of the first are mythological while those of the latter have some historical value. The Jaina Canon had incorporated myths and legends of universal appeal but had Jainised them as their main interest was the glorification of the dry and difficult disciplined asceticism. All the Puranic gods and goddesses, creatures like the Yakshas and the Gandharvas, Vidyadharas and the epic characters were taken over but were given a Jaina colouring. The Jainas claim a very old tradition for their narratives but this is done only to secure antiquity and authenticity for them. The Jaina Puranas developed along the lines of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana and came into existence some time after the third century B.C. Naturally the early Brahmanical Puranas, the Mahabharata and

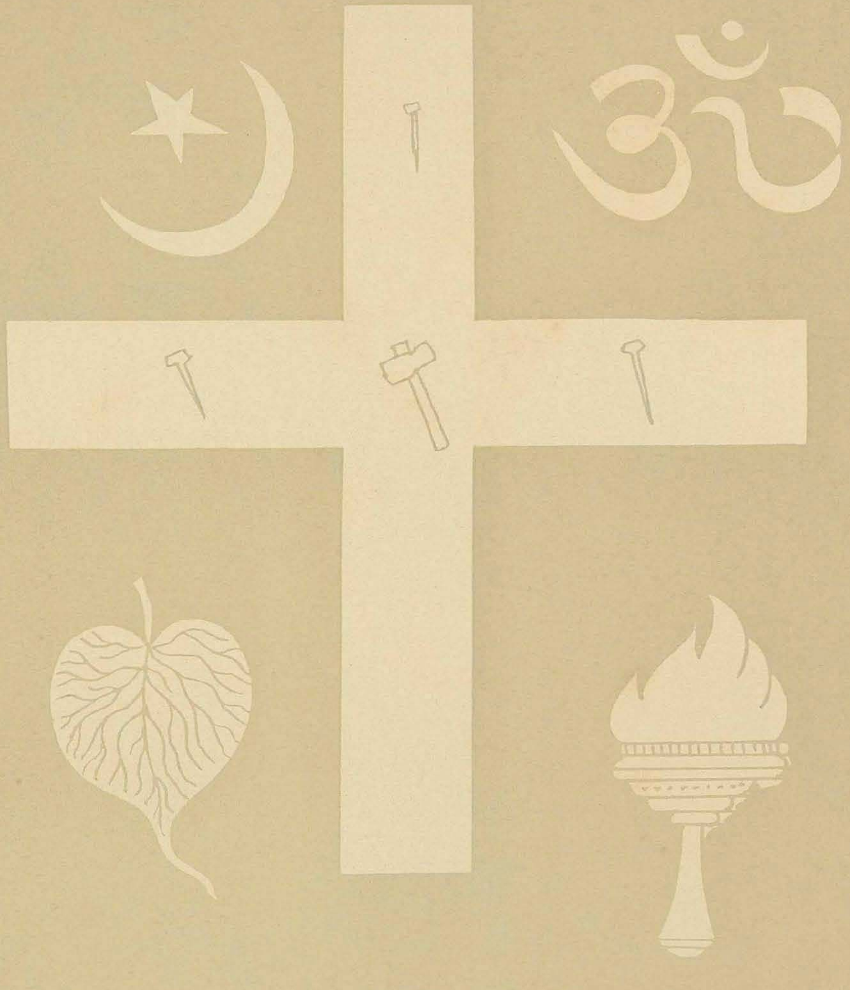
the Ramayana and the Brihatkatha of Gundhya form the bedrock on which stands the huge superstructure of the Jaina mythology. This was but natural since the Jaina laity came from all strata of Indian society, were mostly converts from Brahmanical faith and were brought up in the Brahmanical environment Among the teachers of the Faith only Parshvanatha and Mahavira are historical personalities and the rest appear to be mythological.

Southern Mythology

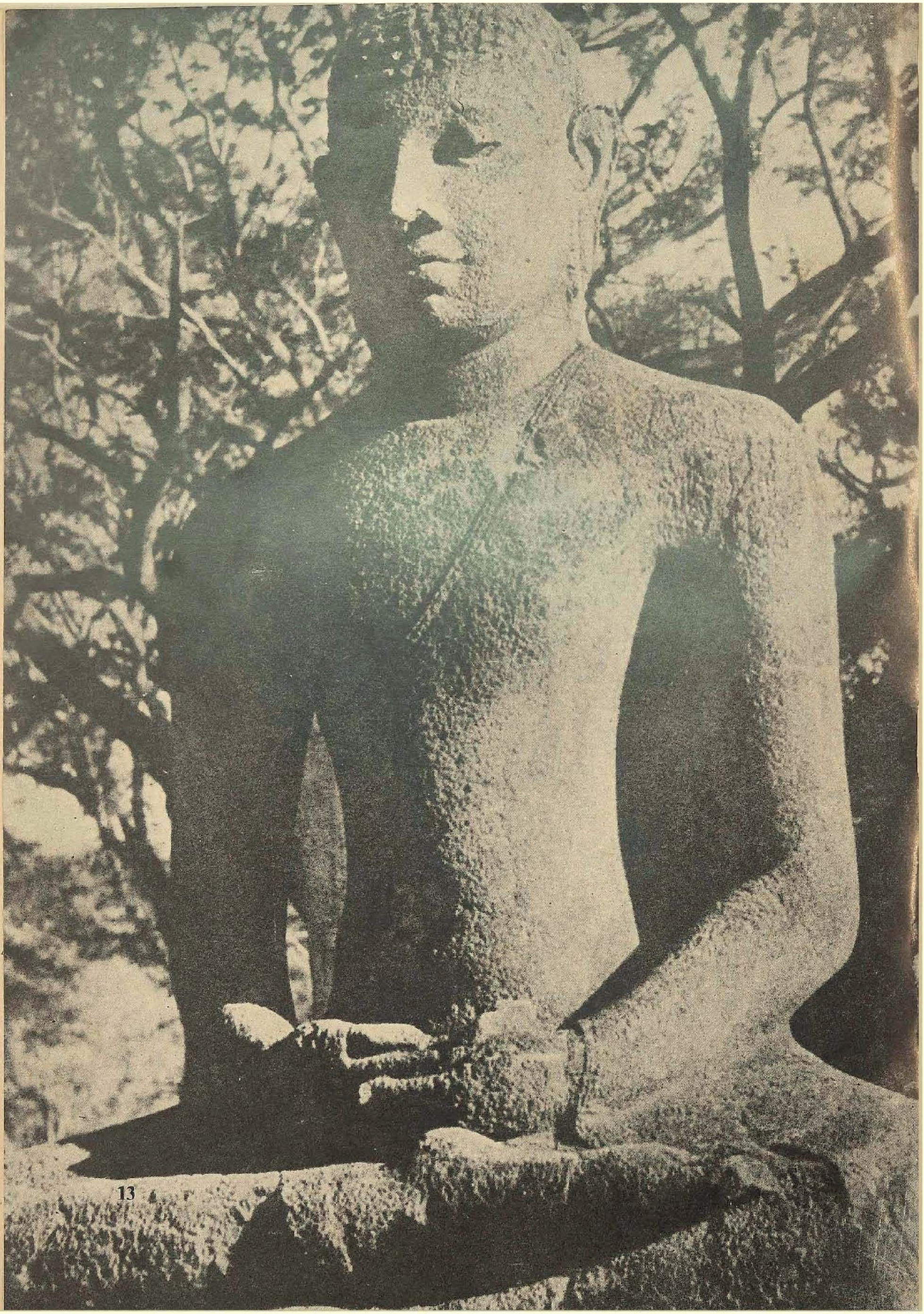
It would be true to say that really the Aryans were Indianised, when they came and settled in India. Shiva is a god that has come from the South and has become a principal deity of Hinduism. This Shiva of the South, possibly the Pashupati Yogi of the Indus Valley Civilization, was worshipped as Bhava by the Bahikas and as Sarva by the Easterners. Along with this deity came also the elements of Puja, Bali and Yoga, which though essentially non-Aryan, became an important part of a man's daily life. The South was slowly Brahmanised and this gave rise to the Agastya myths. Thus, Agastya was sent to the South to restore the disturbed balance of the earth as all the gods and the sages had assembled in the Himalayas to attend the marriage of Shiva and Parvati. The Vindhya, once higher than the Himalayas, is bowing down waiting for Agastya, his teacher to return. It is Agastya who secured the river Kaveri from the Ganges before he came to the South. Agastya married Lopamudra and with his student Trinadhumagni came to the South and while coming brought along with him members of the Vrishi family of Dvaraka and almost a whole population of eighteen crores of Valir and Aruvalar and then he attempted to colonise the South. He lived in the hill Podiyil in the Southern part of the Western Ghats. It is also believed that Trinadhumagni, as Tolakappiyar composed the Tolkappiyam, the oldest Tamil grammar. According to the *Padmapurana*, *Bhakti*, devotion, first originated among the Dravidians, passed through the Maharashtra and finally settled in the Vrindavana near Mathura. Shiva, Baladeva, Krishna and Subrahmanya according to Nakkirar, four primarily Tamil gods were responsible for this development of *Bhakti*. The South is full of 'village-gods' which appear to have been primitive local deities. These deities are periodically worshipped so that calamities for men and animals like famine, pestilence and the like could be avoided Minachiamman of Madura in the form of Durga killed the wicked Pandya king. Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva came out from an egg laid by Anikamma or Ammavaru but on rising to power they neglected her and as a punishment the three gods were vanquished by her. Parashurama, the son of the highly irascible sage Jamadagni was ordered by the father to kill his mother by beheading her as he suspected her fidelity. When Parashurama was about to carry out this order of his father a Pariah woman intervened to save the mother of Parashurama but Parashurama cut off the heads of both the women. The highly pleased father gave Parashurama a boon so that he could revive his mother by sprinkling magical water over head, and by placing it on the trunk. Parashurama fumbled with two heads and put the head of the Pariah women on the trunk of the Brahmin lady and the head of the Brahmin lady on the trunk of the Pariah woman. The first came to be worshipped as Yellama and the other as Mariamma. This rural mythology has more of superstition and magic than of logic and philosophy. But it has certainly enriched Indian mythology, for such rural deities are to be seen almost in every part of India.

Concluding Remarks

This vast varied and interesting mythology is a creation of the superstitions, fancy and imagination, religious and poetical as well as philosophical instincts of the Indian people. It reflects a gradual progress from polytheism to monotheism and to monism; from fear and dread of the divinities to sincere love and devotion for them. Here is the realisation that it is the One that has become Many; that the One has thousand names and forms and that this One is deeply interested in the welfare of the world. Here is also the realisation that god descends in different and human forms to save the world and that man also ascends to divinity through his spiritual perfection and moral excellence.



RELIGIONS IN INDIA
VEENA GAJENDRAGADKAR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Religions In India

Veena Gajendragadkar

Introductory

India has been a land of more than one religion since antiquity. Buddhism and Jainism arose in India in the sixth century B.C., differing from Brahmanism of the Aryans. The political concept of secularism is, strictly speaking, inapplicable to the religious atmosphere of India. The concept of a state religion is foreign to the religious culture of the land. The ruler was enjoined by the Aryan social organisation to support and protect the *'ashramas'*, i.e. the schools of learning and knowledge, without exercising a control over their affairs. Freedom of religious thought and practice represents the spirit of Indian culture above everything else. For, the first religion formulated in India, viz, the Vedic religion, looked upon the truths of religion as comprehensible by human reason. This rationalistic outlook basically ruled out any kind of an exclusive attitude towards religious belief. The main religions found in India to-day are : Hinduism, (the religion of some seventy five percent of the people in India), Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Islam, Sikhism and Christianity.

Hinduism

The Brahmanism of the Aryans got the name 'Hinduism' since the days of the invasion of Alexander the Great (326 B.C.) and got established with the Muslim invasions (1200 A.D.). 'Hindu' is the Persian for the Sanskrit word 'Sindhu' meaning the 'ocean', and the Aryans styled thus the first great river they came across on their arrival in the region through the Hindukush passes about 1500 B.C. The Mohenjo-Daro civilization of the river basin had met its doom quite some centuries before the Aryan descent. The Aryans belonged to the urban cultures of Western Asia and came to India through Iran to escape the attacks of the nomads of central Asia, as another wave reached on to Europe. The Aryan name for the Indo-Gangetic plain over which they spread was 'Arya-Varta', the habitation of the Aryans.

General Features of Hinduism

Hinduism is not a historical religion, in that it does not originate in the teachings of an individual founder. Rather, it is the expression of the sense of communion with the law of the universe that the Aryan

seers both understood and experienced. The Aryan name for the cosmic law, the sustaining principle of both matter and spirit is *"rita"*. The Buddhists and the Jains call it by the name *dharma*'. 'Dharma' is the Sanskrit for 'religion' in English, with a far wider implication than the English word though. 'Dharma' means that which sustains individuals and societies in the fullness of life, as it sustains the universe. The term 'religion' in Hinduism thus stands for a knowledge of truth about God and the world together, rather than for a belief in any one particular conception of god. Hence, Hinduism is neither crystallised in set tenets or canons, nor does it need any large-scale priestly organisation to govern it. It is a religion which has grown from within by the dynamics of thought, combining mythology with intense philosophical speculation. It is a religion in which the doctrine of an impersonal reality has merged with a personalistic conception of god to weave a variegated pattern of beliefs and attitudes to life. It not only absorbed within itself its early mythology but broadened it by assimilating the non-Aryan mythological deities, giving to both a philosophical character. Together they form what is known as the Hindu Pantheon. Popular Hinduism draws largely on the deities presented here in their specific character. Yet Hinduism does not subscribe to any plethora of gods and goddesses. The prayer to any of the deities glorifies it as the *Atman,* i.e. the supreme spirit.

Hinduism is thus many things to many people. It allows the Tantric sect even, within its fold with its reliance largely on magical practices. Vast sections of the Hindus though, guide themselves by the stories and the performances (the Puranas), as well as by the superstitions that have grown around the originally philosophical conceptions of the deities. The more thinking amongst the people guide themselves by the epics, viz. Ramayana and Mahabharat. These quite extensive works deal with the problems of ethical life as epitomised in the lives of all those connected with the central figures, viz. Rama and Krishna, who are held up as ideals or guiding stars. People with a still greater awareness of philosophical and religious truth, read, recite and reflect on the Bhagvat-Gita. A few individuals choose to meditate on the ultimate truth, trying to realise it within themselves. The pinnacle of religious consciousness is described as a state of bliss *(ananda)* in which the seeker *(sadhaka)* drops his exclusive individuality in the realisation, 'I am no other than the *Brahman* or the *Atman,* (two names for the supreme reality).. It is a state of liberation or *mukti* for the soul. Every school of religious thought does not accept the *Advaita* i.e. non-dualistic ideal. Yet each defines the highest state of religious consciousness in terms of a knowledge of ultimate truth translated into a state of bliss.

Hinduism is a plural religion. For, it grants right at the outset that : (i) the truths of religion may be expressed differently and that (ii) the level of a man's religious consciousness is a function of the development of his soul. This fundamental religious truth was expressed by the ancient seers in the Upanishadic statement: The real is one; wise man speak about it in different words though. The Bhagvat-Gita which crystallises the essence of the Aryan conception of religion, supplements the above philosophical conception in the universal assurance of Lord Krishna. "I (god) respond to my devotees in the manner in which they understand me and approach me." The Gita stresses that a man may seek his religious fulfilment either through knowledge or through devotion or through action. The common man relies on a measure of each.

The Sacred Books or the Scriptures and their fundamental teachings

Both Hindu religion and Indian philosophy have a common stem in the Vedas through the Upanishads. Even to-day Hindu forms of worship and religious practices avow themselves as ordained in the three sets of works described as : (i) the *Shruti* (the truth that is heard for being revealed) (ii) the *Smriti* (the revealed truth as recalled and reconstructed) and (iii) the *"Puranas"* (the truths of religion as explained and illustrated in the characterisations and incarnation accounts of the various deities). "Shruti" is the general name for the three original Vedas. The basic idea in Vedas is that of the Cosmic Law expressed in the Sanskrit word 'Rita'. 'Rita' stands for the essential nature of the entire universe, with its three orders of Matter, Life and Spirit. The concept of *'Karma'*, a concept common to the Indian tradition as a whole is an outcome of the concept of cosmic law. Both these concepts were adopted by Buddhism and Jainism. The mythological figures in the Vedas, based as they are on the forces of nature are ordained their character and duties in the context of the cosmic law.

Fire is given an important place as mediating between heaven and earth. Hence sacrifice was made the main feature of religious worship and prayer. Sacrifice was highly ritualised. The central part of the sacrificial ritual consisted of prayers formalised as *mantras.* The Aryans had started composing these *mantras* by the time they arrived in India, The compilation of the Vedas led them to recognise the significance of speech — *vani* or *vach,* for comprehending the nature of the universe and in establishing communication between man and the deities. A prayer expressed as a *mantra* was called a *Brahamana.* Later the name came to stand for the priest who mastered the art of saying the prayer and interpreting it to lay people. For this reason early Vedic religion got the name 'Brahmanism'. The importance given to thought and speech in this religion led to the emergence of philosophy.

A reconstruction of the Vedic truths by reflective

thinking goes by the name *Smriti*. The Upanishads (some twenty in number, with ten principal ones) that follow the Smriti works are more important. They express the teachings scattered in the Vedas in formalised prose. The Upanisads are styled as '*Vedanta*', i.e. the culmination of the Vedas. The name '*Vedanta*' was adopted later by the system which made the central teaching of the Upanishads its platform. The basic teachings of the Upanishads are: (i) The conception of the soul as eternal (ii) The Law of Karma (iii) Transmigration, i.e. a continuation of the life of an individual from birth to birth and (iv) The distinction between two levels of knowledge. The higher knowledge as in the Upanishads is to be communicated to the students by the teacher, by the method of dialogue and discussion by personal instruction. The student is to realise the truth as a personal experience. The lower is our ordinary knowledge, mainly of the nature of information. The Upanishads teach that the spirit is active and hence man is responsible for guiding himself by the ideals of truth *(satyam)*, goodness *(shivam)* and beauty *(sundaram)* or joy *(ananda)*. The three values taken together are the law of *dharma*. A man's achievements in all the three spheres of life becomes a part of his spirit and is called the law of *Karma*. The term '*Karma*' means voluntary responsible action. And the word come to stand for the quality of the soul resulting from such action. *Karma* acts as a bondage to the extent to which it falls short of the ideal. A continuation of life from birth to birth is necessary for the spiritual progress of the individual The cycle of lives gets terminated — a state called '*mukti*' or '*moksha*' — from the law of *Karma* by progressive self-realisation. The motto of the Upanishadic teaching is : "Know thyself."

Vedic Hinduism was life-oriented. The Vedic prayers solicited prosperity in life as much as wisdom. The well-known prayer: "Lead me onwards to truth, make me desist from falsity; lead me onwards to light; make me desist from darkness; lead me onwards to life; make me desist from death" is oft quoted. A man is enjoined to seek money *(artha)* and enjoy the good things of life *(kama)*, after completing his education, provided he guides himself by the law of dharma, the law of the right and the good. In the final stages of life, after fulfilling his duties to life, including family and society, the individual is free to turn towards and concentrate on his own spiritual good i.e. *moksha*.

Post-Vedic and Present-day Hinduism

The early Vedic mythology of Indra, Varuna etc. gave place to the conception of god-heads like Shiva, Ganesh, Brahma, Vishnu and goddesses like, Parvati, Laxmi, Saraswati etc. under the influence of the Upanisadic conception of the soul. These deities have remained the main-stay of Hinduism since then. They served as the focus for the compilation of the two great epics of Ramayana and Mahabharat. The epics have played the role of scriptures for lay Hindus since then. Rama and Krishna are taken to be the embodiments of religious truth as well as the standards for the ideal man. Ramayana and Mahabharata continue to appeal to the Hindu mind irrespective of caste or social and educational status. The stories of the lives of Rama and Krishna have been retold over and over again and continue to inspire art and literature. The two epics intermingle and are complementary in their appeal and instructive value.

The Bhagvat-Gita presents the essence of the philosophical truths of the Upanishads in plain simple Sanskrit verse, that is understood readily and is easily memorisable. It adds a new dimension too, by insisting on the socio-political character of the duties of the individual. The Gita rule for the individual in society is : Not to swerve from the path of *sva dharma*, i.e. the duties of one's own station in the socio-political structure. It gives the name '*Yoga*' to duty persued with unstinted effort and energy. It stresses the importance of *Karma-yoga*, the path of action along with the path of knowledge and of *Bhakti* or devotion. It gives a new form to the law of karma viz. It is the duty that alone is man's priviledge and not the results following from it. Every action performed as a duty is a step onwards to liberation.

The Bhakti School

The Bhagvat-Gita received a new impetus as a part of the spread of the Bhakti movement around the twelfth century A.D. In Maharashtra the text of the Gita was rendered in Marathi, verse by verse, with further illustrations and elucidations. The work 'Jnaneshwari,' so named after its author, Jnaneswara, serves as the fountain of inspiration for a long line of saints in Maharashtra. In Bengal Chaitanya Prabhu led the Bhakti movement, whereas in U.P., Kabir, Surdas, Tulsidas reiterated the Ramayana. The Gita-Govinda of Jayadeva, is inspired by Krishna and is as classical and wellknown.

The Bhakti movement has been a boon to the cultural renaissance of India. It became the mainstay of a literary upsurge, particularly in the field of poetry and music. A good deal of present day Indian music draws its inspiration from the poetic writings of the saints. The saints of the bhakti school discounted the distinctions of caste and sex even. Some of the saints are drawn from the so-called untouchable classes. Quite a few women have made their mark both in literature and as devotees. Mira, a princess of Rajasthana has immortalised herself in her bhajans' — devotional verse.

The Bhakti movement penetrated to the masses under the name Bhagavata Dharma. It is essentially a mass movement. It emphasises the singing of the glory of God in congregation. It did not confine itself to the precints of temples; but the saints made it a

point to walk on foot with their followers from place to place, evoking people to follow the path of god, relying mainly on the inspiring words of the poet-saints, some of them adding their own too. The singing of the name of God in unison is called a *'bhajan'* and is called a *'Hari-kirtan'* when it is accompanied by a religious discourse. These Hari-Kirtans played an important role in the freedom movement, for being able to rely on allegory and metaphor to convey their political message.

The Bhakti movement popularised religion by introducing a ritual of worship called *'Satya-Narayana-puja'*. 'Puja' is a ritual which combines prayer and worship; and it has been the main-stay of religious, practice in Hinduism right from the beginning. Satya-Narayana is the 'puja' of 'Vishnu' (*Narayana*) as Truth incarnate (*Satya*). The story lays stress on truthfulness in word and deed. The recitation of the story is a part of the puja ritual. The puja is to be celebrated in congregation and the (*'prasada'*) — the sweets offered in the puja and are taken to be graced by the deity worshipped, is not to be discarded from an untouchable even. Nowadays, the puja is celebrated as a thanksgiving service too.

Unfortunately for Hindu society, the Bhakti movement, for all its efforts, has not succeeded in cutting down the influence of caste-distinctions. The hierarchy of castes has been a feature of the social organisation of the Hindus since Aryan times and it got associated with religion both in theory and in practice. Originally the castes were no more than professional classes determined only on the basis of a man's functional ability. The conception of caste in India translated into fact the principle of 'Justice' as Plato defines it in the Republic viz. Each man can do best what he is specially equipped for by nature and by training; and a society is healthy and strong when each man confines himself to what he can do best and not meddle with the office of another. Unfortunately this bread principle degenerated into a division of society on the unfair rule of the accident of birth. However it is as important to note that the caste rule has done Indian society a lot of good too. For the sense of duty inspired by an ideal, makes a man take to his duty as a vocation. India owes it to the Brahmins who stuck to their calling of knowledge and teaching in the face of political and financial odds that the ancient knowledge in Sanskrit is preserved to this day fairly intact. It is the tradition of knowledge and learning that has enabled them to make their mark in Western science and literature. It is undeniable that caste-distinctions as caste-privileges and caste-prejudice have hurt Hindu society a great deal.

Buddhism And Jainism

Buddhism (6th c. B.C.) and Jainism (early 5th c. B.C.) arose as protest movements amongst the kingdoms of the Himalayan foothills (eastern part of present-day U.P. and Bihar), which were fairly free from the influence of the Aryans both socially and mentally, although they were well aware of the Upanishadic way of thought and life. Opposition to the cult of sacrifice in the Brahmanical tradition is said to be the immediate cause of these movements. It is equally important to note that these new religions adopted some basic doctrines from the Upanishads, just as they chose a different basis for their religious doctrines. Hence in course of time they came to be accepted as differing trends of thought within the Indian tradition.

Vedic reflections are based on the structure principally of physical matter. Buddhism and Jainism start from the biological phenomenon of life as the basis of thought. This difference in their starting point made them deny the authority of the Vedas, as well as the Upanishadic concept of the soul. Their emphasis on 'life' and the 'law of life' led them to adopt and advocate the doctrine of the cycle of births and the doctrine of *Karma*. These two doctrines link them with the Upanishads. Buddhism made the law governing life central to its theory and symbolised it as 'the wheel of the right and the good;' i.e. of *'dharma'* (dharma|chakra). Jainism considered the bondage of life to matter as the basic fact, a handicap which it is the essence of religion to overcome. Buddhism turned metaphysical and was reduced to an internal difference within the Indian tradition, particularly under the influence of Shankara's *Advaita* system in the 8th century A.D. Interest in Buddhism as a distinct religion was revived in India, when Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, a great Indian as much as the greatest leader of the untouchables, chose to got converted to Buddhism with a vast number of his followers some twenty-five years ago. Jain thought emphasised the relativity of human knowledge, rather than a cosmic principle. Due to this sceptical tendency, the core of Jainism remained untouched by Hinduism. Jainism held its own as a religion, without any kind of an antagonism towards Hinduism, adopting many of its deities for day-to-day worship. Jainism got established in Gujarat and Karnataka, mostly amongst the commercial communities of these parts Buddhism travelled beyond the boundaries of India, northwards towards Tibet, China and Japan and southwards to Lanka and South-east Asia and became a World religion.

Buddhism and Jainism introduced the life-negating tendency in the Indian tradition. They established an order of monks, who chose to be wandering ascetics not only in search of their own salvation, but for the propagation of their faith too. The establishment of monasteries either as shelters (*Viharas*) or as places of residence for fixed periods for the monks was a new feature that got added to the Indian landscape, under the influence of these two movements. The monasteries were places of learning too. The Buddhist universities of Taxila and Nalanda attained

great fame as academic centres. The Jain monks devoted even greater attention to secular learning. They made significant contributions to the fields of literature in Mediaeval Sanskrit and Prakrit as to the development of the Gujarati and Kanarese languages. They also contributed much to the sciences of mathematics, astronomy and linguistics. Above all, the Jain libraries preserved the ancient texts, including non-Jain works against the destruction of the invaders.

Buddhism and Jainism got established by the third century B. C. and received a big impetus during the Mauryan period, particularly under the patronage of emperor Ashoka (273-232B.C.). The art of sculpture introduced into India as a result of the invasion of Alexander the Great (326B.C.), got a big opportunity due to the prosperity of the Mauryan empire. And the monasteries got embellished by beautiful carvings at the entrance and around the 'stupas' or 'chaityas' over the relics of Buddha as at Sanchi. Every emperor worth the name, added sculptural creations either in the form of religious places or as commemorative pillars in his empire. Buddhist, Jain and Hindu sculptures dot the entire Indian subcontinent.

The Teachings of Buddhism

The life-story of the founder of Buddhism, Siddhartha Gautama, is fairly well-known. As the Prince of the Shakya clan, he was kept sheltered off from all scenes of misery and suffering on account of a prediction that he was likely to become a recluse. For all the precautions of his father, Siddhartha once happened to see suffering in the form of wretched old age, disease and death. The sight disturbed him greatly and after much thought he took the decision to leave his young wife and an infant son and his princely duties in search of wisdom.

He tried the well-known methods of penance in search of the soul and realised that mere torture of the body does not result in knowledge. Enlightenment *'bodha'* came to him one evening as he sat in deep meditation beneath a pipal tree at a place called Uruvela near Varanasi. Siddhartha Gautama then became a 'Buddha' — the Enlightened, and since then is commonly called Gautama Buddha. He then devoted himself to the task of spreading his new way of truth. For the purpose he set up an order of monks called the 'Sangha' — an organised group. Tonsure, celebrate and clad in ochre robes, the monks lived by begging, but at a few houses only, so that they could be free to devote their lives to meditation and study. The motto of the Sangha for the monks was the resolution :

(i) I resort to trust myself in the Buddha.
(ii) I resort to trust myself in the Doctrine.
(iii) I resort to trust myself in the Order.

Buddha formulated the new way of truth thus :

The Four Noble (Arya) Truths :
Life is the reality that is marked by :

(i) The fact of suffering
for which
(ii) There exists a cause
which
(iii) Can be removed
(iv) By following the Right Path

This right path or the way of life is the Middle Way that Buddha was enlightened about, the path of the golden mean. Desire sustains life and it cannot be weeded out by torturing the body. But it leads to suffering and becomes the bond of *Karma* if it is allowed to become a craving. As a solution Buddha advocated the Middle Way which he spelt out as what is called the Eight-fold Path, i.e. the eight rules of life. These are given not as commandments but as valuations left to the individuals's judgement. Buddha's last words to his disciples and followers were : "Be your own lamp and refuge". The eight rules are : (i) Right perspective, (ii) Right will, (iii) Right speech — plain and truthful, (iv) Right conduct-abstinence from immorality and violence, (v) Right earning, (vi) Right i.e. Continuous efforts, (vii) Right awareness of the process of time, (viii) Right contemplation.

The last rule is meant to be the final preparation for attaining *Nirvana* — a state which amounts to a 'blowing out' of the exclusive desire. That is, it amounts to a dropping down of the chains of *Karma* and of one's exclusive individuality. One who attains *Nirvana* gets merged into life Universal.

The Teachings of Jainism

Jainism originates in a long line of Tirthankaras, going back to unknown antiquity. A 'tirthankara' is a ford-maker, one who discovers the way across the ocean of life on earth *(samsara)*. Vardhamana, a younger contemporary of Buddha was the twenty-fourth in the line, preceded by Parshvanatha, some 250 years earlier. Vardhamana is styled Mahavira, the great hero, for getting the movement established in strength. The names 'Jainism' and 'Jains' derive from the word *'Jina'* meaning one who has gained complete control over the senses.

Vardhamana like Gautama before him comes from a royal family. At the age of thirty he left home and family. He wandered for twelve years in search of salvation until he found enlightenment and became a Jina and a *'Kevali'* i.e. a free unattached soul. Following the tradition set by Parshvanatha, he founded a disciplined order of naked (digambara-space-clad) monks. He received support from lay people too.

The Jains do not believe either in the Aryan conception of the soul or in the God, though in course of

time they raised temples to the tirthankaras. The Jains, both the monks and the lay followers rely entirely on the authority of the teachings of the founder. Jinas and their interpretations from the Mahants, the chiefs of the religious centres. The Jains use the term 'soul' or the 'jiva' i.e. the individual organism. For them life is the universal substance or reality and conciousness is the essence of life. Life is encased in matter, which also carries souls, though in a dormant condition. The souls are infinite and belong to five different orders of consciousness. The number of sense-organs in the organism is an indication of the level of conciousness in a soul. The law of *karma* binds the soul to matter. The soul reaches the human level progressively. The human individual being rational, should aspire for salvation and liberation from the law of *karma,* by personal effort. The liberated soul regains its pristine purity in the attainment of a four-fold perfection, *viz.* (i) infinite knowledge, (ii) infinite faith, (iii) infinite power and (iv) infinite bliss.

Right faith in the words of the Tirthankaras, right knowledge regarding the realities of the universe and right conduct are the three requirements of Jain discipline. The path of right conduct is spelt out in the following five vows which are prescribed for monks and lay people alike.

(i) '*Ahimsa*' — 'not to hurt life', is the eternal law of '*dharma*' for the Jains and stands first in the order of vows. *Ahimsa* is to be accompanied by (ii) *satya,* truthfulness in word and deed (iii) non-stealing, i.e. respect for other peoples' property, (iv) chastity, not allowing sensual pleasures to master the soul and (v) *a-parigraha* i.e. keeping free of greed and hoarding. The last two have a stricter meaning for the monks and nuns. They have to lead a celebrate life free of material possessions. Jainism lays down a rigid discipline, enjoining fasting and period of penance in a monastery even for lay people. '*Paryushana*', a period of fasting lasting from eight days to a month (July-August) is observed by many Jains even to-day.

Digambaras (space-clad) and *Shwetambaras* (white-clad) are the two Jain sects.

Zoroastrianism

Persia i.e. Iran is the home-land of *Zoroastranism.* Followers of this faith, numbering some several thousands, belong to Yezd and Kirman in Iran. It is religion of the Parsee community in India. The Parsees got their name when they arrived in India from Persia to avoid religious persecution at the hands of the Mohammadan Arabs, ruling Iran in the 7th century A.D. For not admitting any converts to their faith, the Parsee community is dwindling.

Zarathustra, the prophet (5th c. B.c.) is the founder of Zoroastrianism. It was a strong movement till 2nd century A.D. competing with Hellenism and the Roman imperial power. It was overcome largely by Islam, which drew strength from the military power of the Arab world.

The original religious works of Zarathustra are the Five Gathas or songs, similar in style to the Upanishads. Zarathustra struggled to wean his people away from the magical religion and lower forms of 'daeva-worship', and urged them to put their faith in Ahurmazda — the good spirit. He taught a sublime and distinct monotheism. Ahurmazda was his conception of the deity. He admitted Amesha Spentas-archangels below the supreme spirit, but they receive no worship. Zarathustra retained one of the features of the old religion, *viz.* the Sacred Fire. Parsee temples are erected to this sacred fire. They are called *Aggyaries.*

Zendavesta is the scripture of the Parsees. It is a corpus containing many writings of a later day accommodating the original magical religion of the people, along with the Gathas of Zarathustra. Zendavesta is written in Avestra, a language close to Sanskrit, but known only to the priests today. The later form of the religion allows God Mithras as having equal honour with Ahurmazda. At the creation of the world, the good spirit going forth from Ahurmazda was met with and posed by the evil spirit Ahriman. Quite often, Ahurmazda the good spirit and Ahriman the evil spirit are represented as having equal status, on the analogy of the conflict in the human soul between the good and the temping power of evil. But there is a marked tendency too, to subordinate the evil to good spirit. The Gathas contain the assertion off : (i) a future life, (ii) the immortality of the soul and (iii) a last judgement. In the later portions of the Zendavesta, there also occurs the idea of a divine human saviour who will interpose to destroy the power of evil and establish a permanent commonwealth of righteousness upon earth.

Man is given the freedom to determine right and wrong. 'Truth' and 'Purity' are the watchwords of human goodness. Purity includes morals as well as the purity of the elements of nature like earth, fire and water. That is one reason why the Parsees neither bury nor cremate their dead.

Islam

Islam, a semitic religion like Christianity, was founded in the 6th c. A.D. by the prophet Mohammad. The life of Mohammad was in some ways very worldly, yet he succeeded in giving message to his people, which served as a nucleus for a wide-spread religion.

The Teachings of Islam

'There is no God save Allah-Al Ilah — the Mighty One — and Mohammad is his prophet' is the principal tenet of Islam. It is a conception of a stark, absolute, transcendental power, unlike the conception of a commonwealth of the Righteous or a City of God. The ideal believer is the 'abd' or slave. Submission to

(Islam) and worship of Allah is the purpose of man's existence on earth. Life is an opportunity for the service of god; and human society is the proving ground for eternal salvation. No Muslim thinker ever loses sight of the thought that he inhabits a world governed by Allah.

The Quran (Word of God) is the sacred book of the Muslims, the original of which called "the well-guarded tablet" is in heaven. The Quran is believed to be sent down in Arabic through the angel Gabriel to the prophet Mohammad, who received it in his moments of mystical trance. The various utterances of Mohammad were gathered later in the hadiths, the corpus of cannonical tradition about Mohammad. They contain the Sunnas too, the various dicta of the prophet known through tradition. The Quran and the Sunna constitute the Holy Law, also called the Sharia, which govern Muslim society.

Islam prescribes for its followers five rules, styled as the Five Pillars of Islam. The first and the most important is the Kalima, i.e. the recital of the creed about Allah and Mohammad, to be supplemented by the daily recitation of the Quran. The others are (ii) five daily prayers, (iii) fasting, (iv) alms-giving and (v) pilgrimage to Mecca. These rules are universal.

The Sunnis and the Shias are the two main sects of the Muslims. The former, the larger body believe that the Caliphate, the leadership of the community need not be confined to the heirs of Mohammad. The Shias maintain that the family of Ali, the prophet's nephew and son-in-law have the sole right to the office.

Sufism stands for Muslim mysticism. It admits the tradition of saints. Bahaism is a modern development from Shia Islam. It introduces the idea of successive incarnations of God in Immams and teaches a liberal utilitarianism in the faith.

Islam entered India when Delhi offered refuge to scholarly fugitives from the Mongols in the 13th century. It became a power when the Mughal rulers of India (1550-1650) adopted Islam as their faith. However, it did not amount to a cultural invasion. The Hindu masses remained unaffected except when they suffered religious persecution and forced conversion. Hindus and Muslims live amicably in day-to-day life in rural India, both communities using the language of the region. The Muslims have adopted many Hindu customs and rites.

Sikhism

Sikhism is the religion of some six millions and more Indians. The Punjab, particularly, the region of the Sutlej valley, around, Amritsar (now in Pakistan), is the main seat of Sikhism. Sikhism springs from a movement to amalgate Islam and Hinduism, particularly according to the teachings of the Sufi and Bhakti school saints. Nanak (1469-1538), the founder of Sikhism belongs in the tradition of Kabir (1440-1518) and Dadu (1544-1603) in the effort to forge a new religion. Nanak succeeded in founding a religion but the paths of Kabir and Dadu survived only as sects, within the two religions.

Nanak, a married Hindu, was in the employment of Daulat Khan. At the age of thirty, he left home and family and took to a wondering life at the prompting of the Muslim musician Madrana. He travelled all over India, down south to Ceylone and up northwards to Mecca and Medina. He spent the last decade and half of his life at Kartarpur in the Punjab, a newly founded Sikh village preaching and teaching his doctrines to his disciples.

The Teachings of Sikhism.

Nanak taught a syncretist doctrine as:

There is but one God whose name is true, the creator. God is infinite and unseen, but stands revealed in majesty and glory in the created world. Man sins on account of his delusion (*maya*) regarding worldly pleasures. Because of which God condemns him to the bondage of Karma and a round of births. God disposes but is gracious. All can approach him in a spirit of service and devotion, without which all formal ritual is worthless. Nanak emphasises the worship of God and the path of truthfulness and ethical purity rather than man's salvation. He discounts prophet and avatars i.e. incarnations of God, but stresses the importance of the Guru, the proved guide for man's searches for God's grace. The '*guru*' is a religious integral to Sikhism.

The teachings of Nanak are given in the form of hymns and short pithy sayings in a vigorous verse form. They have been complied in the 'Adi Grantha' the prime book to which additions have been made by the later gurus too. The worship of the Grantha is an essential feature of Sikhism. Sikhism emerged as a separate religious community largely because of Nanak's decision to appoint a guru as a successor.

The line of gurus stops with Guru Govind Singh (1675-1708). Arjuna Singh (1581-1606) got involved in the politics of the Mughal court. The royal attempt at forced conversions turned Sikhism against the Muslims, and Sikhism became a military community. Govind Singh inaugurated the Khalsa — the sworn brotherhood of fighting Sikhs. He gave them five identifying signs, amongst which the uncut beard and the appelate Singh stand out prominent.

Participation in a 'langar' a common meal cooked in a free kitchen and joint drinking from one bowl of baptismal nectar — a must for the Khalsa were meant to and have kept the Sikh community totally free from caste distinctions. Govind Singh placed all emphasis on the Grantha. He identified the Grantha and the khalsa and made it the embodiment of guru. "Obey the Grantha" became the rule for the Sikhs since then. Every Sikh is expected to know and recite the *Japaji*

— the morning prayer containing the essence of Nanak's teaching. Pilgrimage to holy places is highly recommended. The rejection of the ascetic way of life, either a stress on ethical purity in every day living mark the Sikh way of life.

Christianity

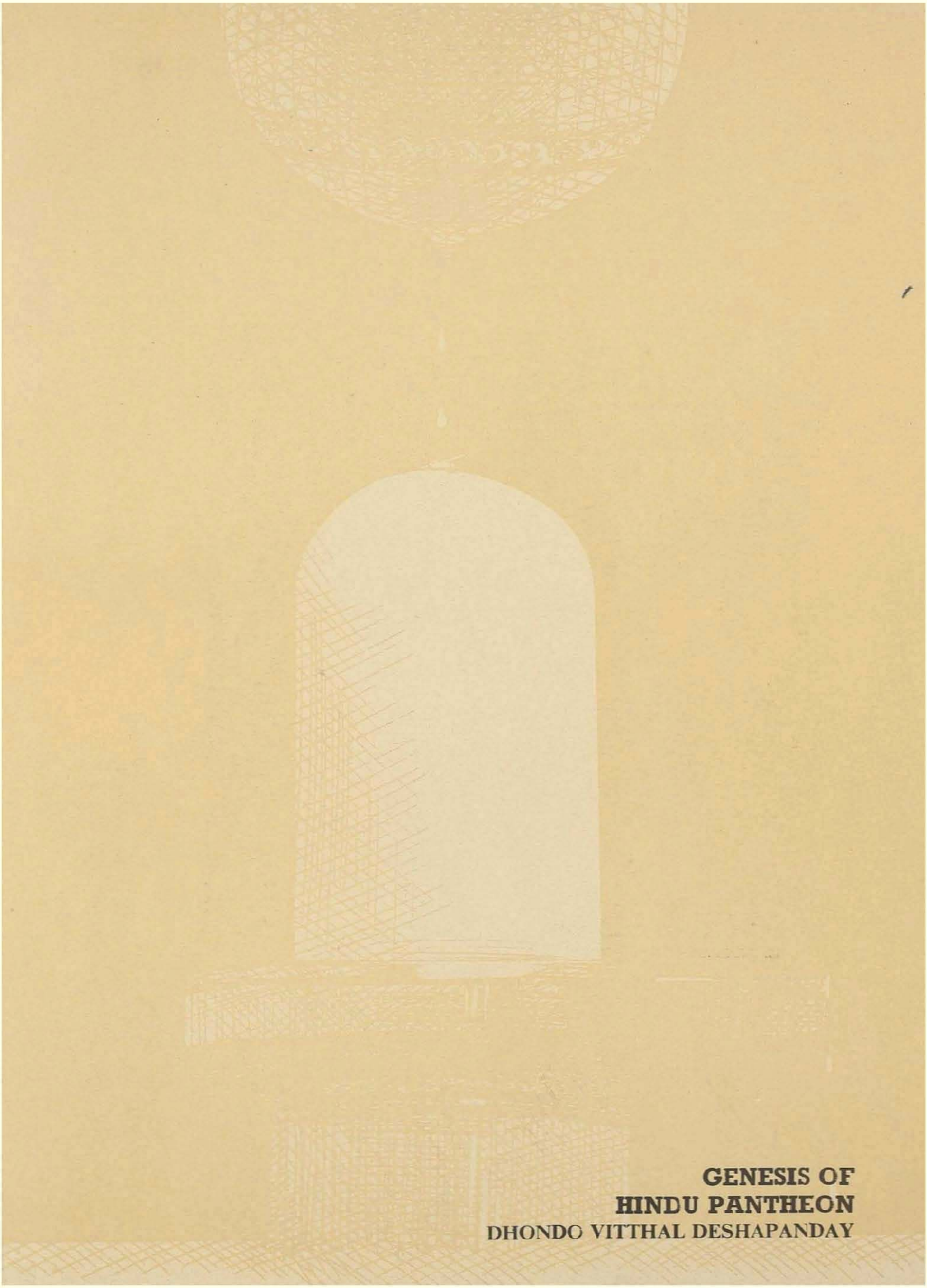
Christianity came to India (Vasco da Gama—1499) even before the Moghuls (1525). However, the Syrian Christians of the Malabar coast (South-West) are the original, the oldest (about 1500 yrs) and the most naturalised Christian community in India, developed diretly under the influence of St. Thomas. But for this sect, the spread of Christianity in India has in the main followed the line of trade and the build up of military power for making it safe and secure. That is how Roman Catholicism follows in the wake off Portuguese and French influence, whereas protestantism is more wide spread in the regions where the British influence was supreme. It is the case that Christianity that spread under the influnce of European trade and political power, looked westwards for its cultural base very largely. It is equally true that the Christian church in free India is attempting to develop an identity with a keener sense of akinness to the Indian ethos and tradition.

The Teachings of Christianity

The Hebrew prophets beginning with Moses and his Ten commandments, aimed at liberating their people from the cult of daemon worship, common to the semitic people in general. They asserted that : i) One God, the Lord alone is real; ii) religious life consists in doing the commandment of God, and iii) man too is a unity and totality like God, and should seek his fulfilment in a commonwealth of the good. This teaching of the Hebrew prophets is the heritage on which Christianity is based. The Christian church began as a sect of the Jews and adopted the old Testament as its basic scripture. But Judaism concentrated on the book, whereas Christianity placed all emphasis on God. Hence in spite of its continuity with the Hebrew prophets, the Christian church does mark a break away from them in belief and in practice. The prophets taught a dynamic ethical monotheism, yet they remained rather nationalist in outlook believing themselves to be the chosen people amongst whom God is yet to send a saviour that would be their king. For Christianity Jesus is the saviour and the life of Jesus Christ is the final act of God.

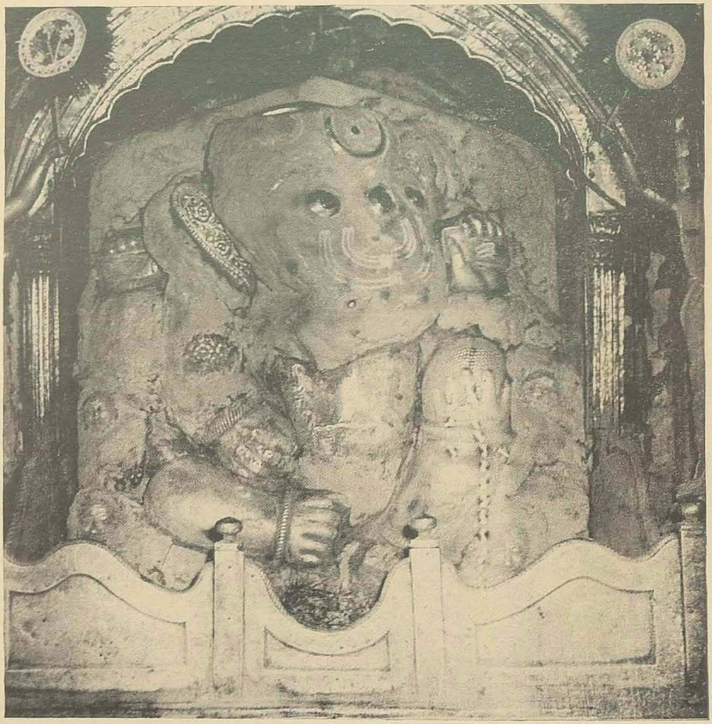
Christianity holds the trinity of the Holy Spirit, God and Jesus as the son of God to be the divine totality. It teaches not only that God is one, but that the world is all God's. It looks at history as the unfolding of the meaning and purpose of God. It looks at Nature positively and reads in the skill and contrivance displayed in nature, a proof of the existence of God. But above all the essence of Christianity lies in the doctrine of the act of God in giving his Son Jesus to suffer for Man. The birth and the life of Jesus in quality and historicity is a unique but a discontinuous, once for all initiative of the divine within the spatio temporal order. It is the personal message of Christianity that won it many adherents. For it taught that God in his love for man made human suffering his concern. Hence alleviation of human suffering is taken to be a Christian virtue.

The conception of the suffering saviour is peculiar to Christianity, though it is also present in the Buddhist conception of the *Bodhisattvas* in a different way. The Buddhist devotee has to transcend his need for the Bodhisattva through knowledge. Christianity teaches that the suffering of Jesus is an enduring fact, for being an act of supreme sacrifice on the part of God for man. The religious man realises this truth through his faith and when blessed by the grace of God. Christianity is above all a religion based on Faith.



GENESIS OF HINDU PANTHEON

DHONDO VITTHAL DESHAPANDAY



14. Bade Ganeshji — Varanasi

Genesis Of Hindu Pantheon

Dhondo Vitthal Deshapanday

'*Shree Ganeshaya Namah*' (I bow down to Shree Ganesh), this *mantra* marks the beginning of all ceremonies and sacraments of the Hindus. Be it a *Pooja* (worship) or a *Path* (reading of the religious scriptures), a *Keertan* (revival meeting) or a *Pravachan*, (sermon), a *Japa* (rosary) or *Dhyan* (meditation), a wedding or a funeral, every ceremony always begins with this obesiance to Ganesha. This association of this god with the beginning of anything auspicious, is so close and complete that the word *Shreeganesha* itself means a beginning, according to the lexicons of many an Indian language. This god is supposed to be the son of Shiva and Parvati. Parvati created him out of the dust that had accumulated on her body. Due to some fault on the part of this child, Shiva not only beheaded him but destroyed his head. On a plea for mercy from Parvati on his behalf, Shiva placed the head of an elephant on Ganesha's shoulders and revived him.

This genesis of this elephant-headed god Ganesha and his iconographic form comes as a surprise to those who are not familiar with the basic philosophy and mythology implicit in the Hindu pantheon. A word here by way of an explanation of this genesis would not be out of place. Knowledge, according to the Hindu concept, is classified under two heads. The first is real knowledge (*Dnyana*) which deals with the knowledge of the being, the Supreme Being and their inter-relation. Under other head comes secular knowledge (*Vidnyana*), knowledge of this world. The latter comes to a man through his senses from the external world and is therefore the knowledge of the external. The former on the other hand comes from within and is the knowledge of the inner self of a man along with that of his Maker. Ganesha is supposed to be the god of secular knowledge i.e. the knowledge of the external. That is why he arose from the dust which had accumulated on the body of Parvati, one of the twin causes of all existence. It is the knowledge aaquired by one who is dust and returns to dust. Moreover, it is the knowledge of things which in the ultimate analysis are nothing but dust and hence this genesis of Ganesh the God of secular knowledge. Tradition records that it was Ganesha who took down Mahabharat to Vyasa's dictation. His ascent to complete

deification followed the usual pattern which shall be dealt with in due course.

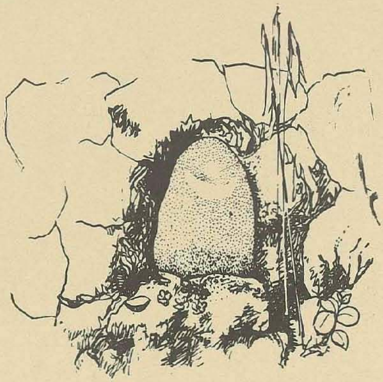
Just as every ceremony begins with the salutation to Ganesha so also it's ends in the prayer *Tat-sat Brahmarpanam Astu, Shree Krishnarpanam Astu Vishnave Nemo, Vishnave Namo, Vishnave Namah.* (I surrender this to Brahma. I surrender this to Shree Krishna. I bow down to Vishnu). This Brahma is a philosophical concept and is said to be the supreme cause of all being. Though it is single, unique and all-pervading in itself, it is a compound of an eternal duality consisting of *Brahma* and *Maya.* Thus *Brahma* cannot be thought of without *Maya* and *Maya* without *Brahma* becomes ineffective. They are the two inseparables which, when in direct contact, collectively manifest themselves in all that is known as 'universe'. Thus we see that the Indian mind does not think in terms of the Father in heaven as the creator. It is *Brahma* and *Maya* together who create and it is in *Brahma* itself that all creation stands dissolved if, and when, the ultimate end the being comes. This dual nature of these creators is a matter of dispute amongst the different schools of Indian philsophy. The Monists affirm that both are one and the same whereas the Dualists believe that each of them has a separate existance and therefore is a distinct entity. These two are known by different names in different schools of philosophy. *Brahma* and *Maya* are Vedantic terms. The *Sankhyas* call them *Purush* and *Prakriti* whereas the *Shaivas* know them as *Shiva* and *Shakti.* Whatever the terminology, all schools accept this dual postulate when they try to answer the famous question from the *Nasadeeya Sukta,* a hymn from the Rig-veda : 'How did the existant come out of the non-existant'.

We need not go into the details of the answers to this question here. Whatever the answer, every school accepts this twin nature of the Supreme Cause and this phenomenon has affected all Hindu gods. All of them are always accompanied by their female counterparts and all goddesses have their inseparable male companion. There are a few exceptions like Hanuman (Monkey god) and Dattatraya (the Trinity: creation, protection and destruction); but they are very late additions to the ever growing legion and therefore, as exceptions, go to prove the rule. Ganesha himself is accompanied by Riddhi and Siddhi i.e. prosperity and success respectively.

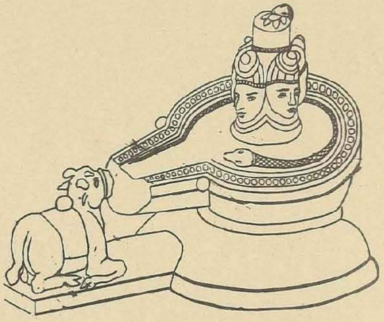
In connection with this pantheon one question always poses itself before a non-hindu mind. All major religions when they speak of God speak of only one God. Hindus, however, not only think of many gods, but devote themselves to these different deities and gods and seek from him or her the same salvation which a Christian seeks from the Father in Heaven or a Muslim seeks from Allah. This naturally sounds strange to those who do not know the Hindu process of Aryanisation and religious integration. Islam and Christianity, when they tried to spread themselves, eradicated the existing faiths, existing concepts of divinity and the existing forms of prayer and worship. They substituted them with the Islamic or Christian versions. The Hindus did not destroy the existing faiths but tried to assimulate them with the basic concept of their Vedic religion and Upanishadic philosophy. Thus, in the process of Aryanisation, they allowed the worship of the local and regional deities to continue and yet somehow managed to endow them with the dignity and the attributes of either *Brahma* or *Maya* and in many cases, of *Brahma* and *Maya.* It was thus that Khandoba of Jejuri, Vithoba of Pandharpur, Shitala of Kalka, Shreerang of Trivendrum, Meenakshi of Madura, Kamakshi of Kanchi, Vishweshwar of Kashi and Kali Durga of Calcutta, Siddheshwar (Ganesh) of Pali came to be equated to and indentified with *Brahma* and *Maya,* so far as their inherest attributes were concerned. If *Brahma* was the supreme cause then all these deities were declared to be the same and naturally their spouses arose to be the equals of *Maya.* Thus grew the Hindu Pantheon and the local deities assumed the status of *Brahma.* This Aryanisation process was so complete and thorough that different philosophies were built up around these local gods and today, they are known as different schools of Indian philosophy. Shankar and Parvati, or to give them their proper philosophic nomenclature, Shiva and Shakti, are a classic example of this process. Originally both of these seem to have been pre-aryan deities. In the time of the Vedas, their devotees have been ridiculed as Shisnadevas, Phalus-worshipers. Today Shiva is not only a Hindu god worshipped all over India, but is the centre of the Shivaite School of Philosophy and Shakti is the presiding deity of the Shaktas, which later on rose to the Tantric cult, and then degenerated into *Vammarg.*

Not withstanding this diversity, which in the process of assimilation was voluntarily accepted by the Hindus, we find a stream of unity running through this vast pantheon and hence comes the oft-quoted line from the famous hymn '*Mahimna*' : 'As the rivers run, some by a zigzag path and others through a straight course ultimately into the sea, so also men through different media try to reach Thee'. The Hindus never aimed at uniformity. Their main objective was unity, unity conceptual, unity philosophical and unity idealogical. If we are to judge by the results, to a great extent, they seem to have succeeded in achieving that aim. It is perhaps because of this assimilative facet of the Hindu mind, that Hindu religion and culture could withstand the different vehement onslaughts of faiths with a non-Indian origin.

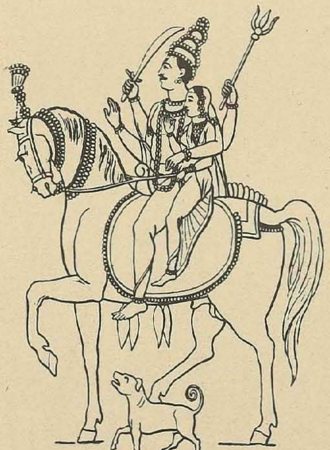
Hindu religion is essentially a sort of a federation



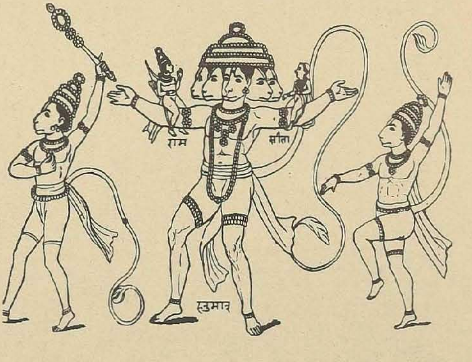
15. A form of Shiva



16. Naganandi Lingam

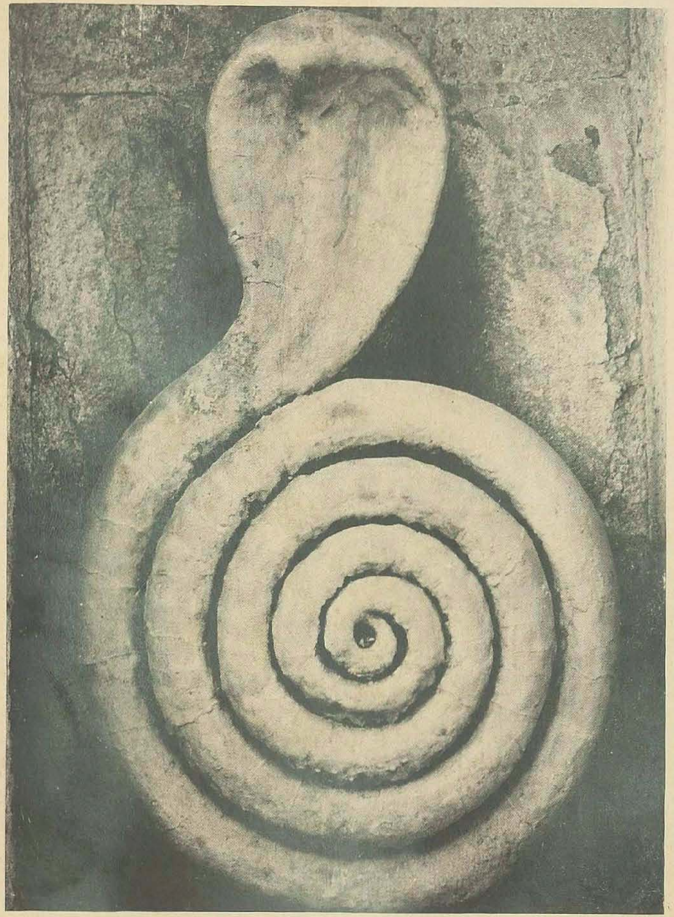


17. Khanderao



18. Hanuman

19. Kalbhairava — Varanasi



20. Nagdeva — Nasik

of local and regional faiths under the fatherly domination of the Vedic religion. With the extension of the boundaries of this federation came new additions to the pantheon and ultimately it became a meeting place for the male and female deities of different tribes, different regions, and different peoples. All regions had traditions of their own. They had their feasts, too. These feasts were sacred to the deities of their particular habitats. With the deities, they also became Hindu feasts and today prevails a situation when there are more than three hundred and sixty feasts and festivals in the Hindu Calender when the Hindu year counts only three hundred and sixty days. Some of them are naturally regional, some others are local. However, there are a few which have crossed these narrow frontiers, and have become all-India Feasts.

Shree Ganesh himself is a fine example of this synthesis. Primarily he was a tribal god who, on being accepted by the Aryans, was at once associated with the *Gritsamanda sukta* from the Rigveda and acquired an all-India status in the Hindu religion. One will find his temples all over India and many of the old houses bear his image carved on the frames of their main entrances. Once upon a time, this god had a limited following. Being the god of secular learning, he was a particular favourite of the students. A child learned to write *Shree Ganeshaya-namah* even before he began to write his alphebets. He was the family god of the Peshwas who ruled Maharashtra. Therefore, in their regime during the 18th and 19th centuries, he became the god of their courtiers. Gradually, his worship percolated downwards and entered the household of the common man. One day in the year, named Ganesh Chaturthi, is supposed to be his feast day. During the British regime, Lokmanya Tilak gave a socio-political makeup to this feast. Since then it has become the National feast of Maharashtra and Maharashtrians all over India.

What is true of Ganesha is equally true of others. Local and regional gods have already been referred to. In addition to them, Hindus have a tradition of family gods and village gods. In the process of Aryanisation they also stood upgraded to the status of divinity. Therefore, Khandoba, Mhalasa, Jakhai, Jokhai, Dhavir, Viroba, Amba, Chamunda, Bhairon, Kali, Chandi, Tulja became the prototypes of Brahma itself. Brahmins are supposed to be the most Aryanised caste and yet, all Brahmin families even today, adore one or the other of the gods named above. It is a matter of gratification to a thinking mind that this is in no way deemed to be repugnant to their overall adherence to Hinduism.

It would be worthwhile here to turn back to the Rigveda and thence trace the genesis and development of the Hindu pantheon. Rigvedic Aryans were primarily a nomadic people who gradually settled down in the Indo-Gangetic planes. They were primitive people and in their search for an ever merciful protector, accepted the Sun, Moon, Water, Fire as protecting deities. It, therefore, is not a matter of surprise when we find that the first Sukta of the Rigveda is in praise of 'Agni' the god of fire. This is followed by hymns addressed to the Sun, the Soma, the waters, the dawn, Varuna, Indra and others. All these are nature gods. Some ruled the winds, the others the rains. Usha, the goddes of dawns is the subject of the most poetic hymns in Vedic literature. One can not speak authoratatively on the chronological order of the composition of the thousand and odd Rigvedic hymns. All the same, one can safely say that these suktas, spread over a long span of time, bear the marks of different stages of social and mental development of the Aryan ethnos. The first Rigvedic hymn to Agni in the first *mandal* (volume), when compared to the *Nasadeeya sukta* in the tenth, reveals a vast gulf in the developmental stages of the social conditions of which they are the product. *Agnisukta* is nothing but the praise of Agni (fire) whereas *Nasadeeya sukta* enunciates problems and poses questions which form the basis of all philosophy all over the world. *Purush Sukta* and *Vishnu Sukta* are two other socially, significant suktas. They deserve a mention here because Vishnu later on became the most important god. According to the Hindus he is not only the Alpha and Omega but also life itself. Everything living or lifeless is his manifestation.

Thus we see that right from the Vedic days, Hindus have accepted every natural phenomenon to be the manifestation of the Divine. Therefore, the nature-gods were later on accepted to be gods, vested with the powers and attributes of the Supreme Being. In the 105th canto of Yuddha Kand of *Ramayana*, we come across a hymn to Surya (Sun). Any Christian or Muslim can substitute the world Surya by God or Allah and say the same hymn, without in anyway sinning against the Credo of his or her faith.

From nature to man was a very small step. Hindus took that step during the post-epic age. *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat* as well known epics of India. Whether they are history or myths is a moot point. What is important is that they are not aesthetic epics and therefore are not the product of one pen. Being the traditional epics of the land, they have grown with the passage of decades and centuries. The *Mahabharat* has been submitted to three recensions before it assumed its present bulk and form, and for all we know, *Ramayan* carries the load of many appendices, and interpolations which Valmiki's pen never wrote. This aspect of the epics is very significant when we think of the deification of their heroes.

Rama and Krishna are the two heroes of *Ramayan* & *Mahabharat*. These epics were orally trans-

mitted from generation to generation before they were committed to paper and ink. These heroes therefore were projections of the inner urges and aspirations of these generations. They reflected their ideals and expressed their finer feelings and thoughts. Thus *Ramayan* came to depict life as it — according to the then society — ought to be, whereas *Mahabharat* was the picture of life as it was. These two books thus became the reflections of the inner being of the Indian ethnos. Their heroes naturally were deified. But mere deification was not enough. They had to be identified with a god who was deeply rooted in the Vedic traditions. Therefore, both these epic heroes came to be known as seventh and eighth incarnations of Vishnu of the Vedas respectively. By and by, the attributes of other gods also were assigned to them and they became a manifestation of Brahma in human form. Thus Ram and Krishna came to be known as the creators, protectors and destroyers of all that we see. It is necessary to note here that creation, protection and destruction are the three powers vested in the Supreme Being according to the Hindu philosophy and these three functions are behind the concept of Trinity which later on was symbolised in the form of the three-headed god Dattatraya.

The last two functions namely, protection and destruction implicit in this Trinity have had an effect on the iconographic representation of all gods. Creation being a natural process can be perceived and not seen. Therefore this aspect of the Divine was symbolised in the idol of the deity itself. Protection and destruction however found expression in the mudras (positions of the hands of the idols. Every idol holds two of its hands in two distinct positions one is known as Varada or *Abhayada Mudra*. The other is the Bhayakrit posture. The former wards off the danger and grants refuge and protection to the good, and as such always seems to be blessing every one who approaches the altar. The other hand is the destroyer-hand and usually has a weapon in it. Different gods have different weapons. Vishnu has the *Chakra* (a wheel with razor sharp-edge). Shiva has the trident, Hanuman has a mace. All these not only have an iconographic significance but have their origin in the myths associated with these gods. Vishnu carries his Chakra on his right index finger which as per Krishna's words in *Geeta* revolves round it for the protection of the good and the destruction of the evil ones.

All over India we will find the temples of Rama and Krishna. They are known by different names in different parts of India. Thus Padmanabh of Trivendrum (Kerala) is the same as Dwarakadheesh of Mathura (U.P.) and Jagannatha of Puri (Orissa). This diversity of the names of the same god is another Hindu peculiarity. Vishnu himself bears one thousand names and they have been listed in a hymn known as *Vishnu Sahasra Nam* (thousand names of Vishnu). Each name not only has a meaning but also implies one or the other of the attributes of the Supreme Being and cumulatively they embrace all the functions that the Hindu trinity implies.

The story of Shiva is more or less the same. When this god was admitted to the pantheon, he could not be allowed to hang in the air, as this would imply that he was an appendage foreign to the Vedic tradition. He therefore was identified with Rudra in the Vedas. As we have seen, Shiva was a pre-Aryan deity and therefore was associated with non-Aryan rites and rituals. Inspite of his Aryanisation he could not be completely dissociated from his pre-Aryan past. As a result, even though he is recognised as the apex of all that is good and the ultimate good (the dictionary meaning of 'Shiva' is Good auspicious), he is also still associated with the old rites of the aboriginal tribes. He therefore is also known as Bhootanath Bhooteshwar (the lord of the Ghosts) and his temples are to be found in the vicinity of the cremetoria. Not only this, the village and family deities are supposed to be his facets and therefore rites associated with them form a part and a parcel of the Shaivite ritual. Shiva shrines are scattered all over India from the Himalayas to Cape-Comorin. Setubandha (Rameshwar), Kashi Vishweshwar (U.P.), Ujjayani Mahakaleshwar (M.P.), Amarnath in the Himalayas, Palani Muruga (Tamil Nadu) are some of ancient Shiva temples.

Shakti, the eternally young spouse of Shiva, deserves a special reference. She is eternally young, whereas Shiva was old and ancient when she was born. Yet they are in perpetual and eternal love with each other: and it is because of this constant union of theirs that the world moves on more or less in the right direction. Their seperation according to Hindu Tradition would mean disaster for all creation. Hence comes the slylised form of 'Lingam' which represents their union. This, so-called obscene lingam, demands an explanation. The word Shiva as mentioned before, means, Good. Whereas Shakti is the Sanskrit word for strength. It is only the combination of these two which keeps the world on the right path. Whenever this combination is broken, evil raises its head and leads men to the brink of disaster. The good, therefore, has to be stronger than the evil if it is to prevail against it. Whenever this balance tilts in favour of the evil, the affairs of this world run amock. The *Puranas* have described in detail the disaster that overtakes the world when Shiva, abandoned by Shakti, stands alone. This combination of good with strength finds its Buddhist expression in the capital of Ashoka's Sarnath pillar. The lions on it symbolise power (Ashoka's royal power) whereas the wheel *(Dharma Chakra)* below them symbolises Buddha's tenets which were enunciated by him for the Good of all, for the Happiness of all (*Bahu jana hitaya*

Bahu jana sukhaya).

Thus Shakti assumed a vital role in the Shakta cult. She came to be known as the Supreme Mother and all female deities were identified with one or the other facet of this eternal and inseparable companion of Shiva. During the augustan age of Hindu sculpture, this eternal unity of Shiva and Shakti aesthetically expressed itself in *Ardhanari nateshwar,* the half male and half female idol of Shiva.

We have so far dealt with genesis and expansion of the Hindu pantheon. It is not possible to go into the other factors which helped its growth. All the same, one thing has to be catagorically stated. Every god, whether pre-Aryan or non-Aryan, when admitted to the pantheon was always given a vedic identity. In the majority of the cases, it was direct, in others naturally indirect. Thus, in spite of the diversity of gods, we find a unity of identity binding all of them into a divine system, which rotates and revolves round the basic concept of Brahma and *Maya.* The attitude of a Hindu to any of these gods is also another peculiar feature of Hinduism. He looks to god as the father, friend and a sweet-heart all rolled into one *(Piteva Putrasya Sakheva Sakhyuh priyah priyaya — Gita).* He respects Him, he fears Him, he loves Him and yet can take friendly liberties with Him which to a non-Hindu would seem to be blasphemous. A Hindu no doubt accepts the omnipotence, omnipresence and omniscience of God and yet looks to him as a friend. He therefore takes it for granted that he himself is merely a part of god. Naturally he attributes all human qualities to the particular god he adores. A Hindu therefore offers all that he himself needs and values to God and then accepts it back from Him as a sign of divine grace. If a human being needs a bath, god also needs an *Abhi shek* (Ritualistic bath). If a human being needs food. god has to be offered *Naivedya* (food offered to god and then received back from him as prasad). Naturally, everybody offers the best that he has, but the best varies from individual to individual according to the resources available to him. The principle, however, behind all worship every where is the same: Give the best you have and receive a part of it as a sign of the divine grace.

A non-Hindu mind naturally doubts the socially cohesive power of such a system. To it, all this seems to be a sort of spiritual anarchy without any unifying force to keep the society spiritually together. History, however, has given a different verdict. Within a hundred years of its birth Islam succeeded in complete conversion of the Middle-east and a sizeable chunk of the Mediteranian coast of Africa and Christianity spread over the whole world in a span of two or three centuries. All civilisations which came in the way of these two main religions are practically wiped out. It speaks well of the elan vital of Hinduism that in spite of a confrontation prolonged over a span of thousand years or so the Hindu bastion, though slightly battered, still stands four square to these onslaughts.

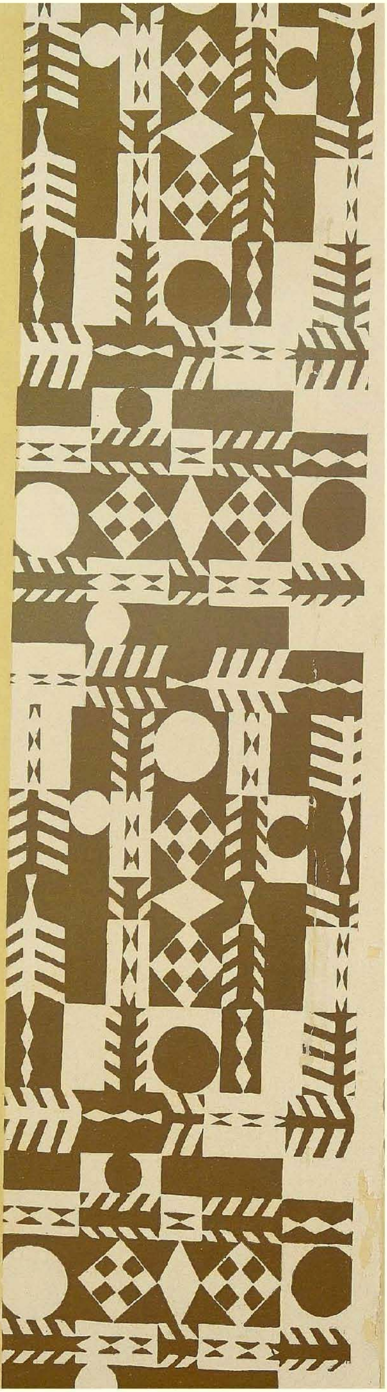
All this does not mean that Hinduism has no weaknesses and defects. Casteism is the curse which it has inherited from the past. The absence of an organised religious hiererchy is another. But these are social evils and have to be dealt with in a separate article. The scope of the present effort is confined to the gods and their genesis, and hence the discussion of these defects does not fall within its ambit.

The federal nature of Hindu religion has been its strength and it is because of this strength that it has has survived in spite of foreign military and ideological invasions. That this religion has never been codified in a book is another source of its strength. As a result, so far as knowledge is concerned, the doors of its mind have always remained open. All new scientific knowledge was willingly accepted by the Hindus. No Galileo therefore has suffered in India because he enunciated a new astronomical theory. No Mansur was put to stake because he claimed that he was the Truth (Un-Al-Haq). This is a feature of which every Hindu can legitimately be proud. However this boon of Hindu open-mindedness is counter balanced by its closed eyes so far as its social structure is concerned, and this today is the main bane of this religion.

When will these eyes open and make this religion aware of the social disaster that faces it? We can only ask this question and wait for an answer.

CASTE AND STAGES

Y. B. DAMLE



Castes And Stages

Y. B. Damle

The Germans are famous for their idealised tradition while in India we have taken pride in involving on institutional framework so as to ensure the working of society and to maintain proper standards of morality. Of course, morality in this context is not to be viewed in the ultimate ethical sense, but more so in terms of the desirable social interaction. In fact, in India, the conception of religion has always been with reference to social structure. Even though the social structure was modified in all its ramifications, emphasis was always placed an highlighting idealised version rather than the mundane versions of different social arrangements. Ideas have been regarded as supreme and ideational point of view was supposed to dominate the thinking as well as the action of the people. Thus, in India social institutions which compose social structure, contain a good bit of an idealised version rather than a version representing or reflecting the factual or functional reality. There is no gainsaying the fact that an idealised version helps exert normative pressure on everyone even though one may not be necessarily able to implement or practise it.

In India, there has never been any dichotomy observed between man and nature. Therefore, in any discussion of society there has inevitably been a significant discussion of the relationship between man, nature and society. Thus, sufficient attention has been paid to discussing the relationship between man and nature, while placing equal emphasis on the discussion of man's nature. Similarly, man's relation with society is regarded as of supreme importance and no dichotomy was ever acceptable in respect of man and society. In fact, the formulation about man, nature and society was based on the theory of social obligations. It must be pointed out that the theory of social obligations took care of not only the relationship between man and society, but also between man and nature. Therefore, there are elaborate injunctions as to how man should behave towards nature including flora and fauna.

If one were to emphasize the central feature of Indian society, it can be said that the theory of social obligations stands out most effectively. Several authors, both Indian and foreign, have rightly emphasized the key importance of the main concept of *Dharma*

which has influenced Indian society and particularly Hindu society. *Dharma* is not to be equated with religion in the usual sense of the term, but it has profound social structural implications. The term *Dharma* has been interpreted in diverse ways and in terms of sementic. There are 26 differential or more meanings imputed to the term. However, the most important characteristic of the term *Dharma* is that it apprehends the relationship between man and man, man and nature and man and society, in such a manner that there is more or less a very elaborate articulation of one's duties rather than one's rights.

In his "History of *Dharmashastra*", Kane very rightly mentions that the word *Dharma* had passed through several transitions of meaning and also discusses how ultimately its most prominent significance came to be the privileges, duties and obligations of a man, his standard of conduct as a member of the Aryan community, as a member of one of the castes, as a person in a particular stage of life'. It is in this sense that the word seems to be used in the well-known exhortation to the pupil, contained in the *Taittiriya-Upanishad* 'speak the truth, practice (your own) *Dharma*' etc. It is in the same sense that the *Bhagvadgita* uses the word *Dharma* in the oft-quoted verse *'svadharme nidhanam shreyah'*.[1] We are told that all the *Dharmasutras* are concerned with imparting instruction in the *Dharma* of *Varnas* and *Ashramas*. Medhatithi, commenting on Manu, says, that the expounders of *Smritis* dilate upon the *Dharma as* five-fold, e.g. *Varna-dharma, Ashrama-dharma, Varnashrama-dharma, Naimittika-dharma* and *Guna-dharma*. Of course, Kane is fully aware of the fact that the concept of *Dharma* is mainly ideal although it has been sought to be put into practice too. Therefore, while the Veda is the source of *Dharma* and traditional practice of those that know it, *Dharma* is also derived from the *Smritis* and customs.

To conclude his discussion about *Dharma,* he mentioned that the numerous authors and works were actuated by the most laudable motives of regulating the Aryan society in all the matters, civil, religious and moral, and of securing for the members of that society happiness in this world and the next. They laid a greater emphasis on the duties of every man as a member of the whole Aryan society, as a member of the particular class to which he belonged and very little on the privileges of men. They created great solidarity and cohesion among the several classes of the Aryan society in India in spite of their conflicting interests and inclinations and enabled Hindu society to hold its own against successive aggressions of foreign invaders.[2]

"Hinduism is a combination of many systems and religious ideologies including Vedic ritualism, Vedantic thought, Vaishnavism, Shaivism, Shaktism and primeval cults, adapted to the requirements of different types of men and communities with great disparties of intellectual and spiritual attainments. There were only a few matters that would be said to have bound most of the Hindus to each other *viz.,* the doctrine of *Karma* and *Punarjanma,* the unifying influence of the vast and venerated Sanskrit literature that gradually enriched the regional languages, the veneration in which the Vedas were held by all Hindus as the final authority in religious matters, though only a small minority could learn and understand them".[3]

In spite of the lack of central political authority, there has been an unbroken religious tradition characterized by tolerance for various ideologies and beliefs and constant adaptations so as to create harmony. This has further afforded continuity.

A. L. Basham, who has written extensively on "Aspects of the Indian Culture and the Wonder That Was India," also highlights the significance of the concept of *Dharma* which exercises an overweaning influence on Hindu society and which can be regarded as the backbone of Indian social structure. Thus, he says, ". . . . it was believed that prior to any government was the eternal divine order of society, the complex of ideas and practices linked up with that pregnant and untranslatable word *Dharma*. *Dharma* is the right course of conduct at any given time for any given individual within the framework of his society".[4] From the point of view of the orthodox Hindu, though not from that of the Buddhist, this social order was final, permanent, pre-ordained and a part of the order of the universe. In theory, it was closely connected with the concept of *Varna,* which he insisted on calling 'class'. Just as horses and cattle are different species, so are Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra.

The first three classes enjoyed special privileges, for they were 'twice-born'. The Shudras were at best secondclass citizens, but they had definite status and rights. 'The thousands of castes of classical India arose from survivals of tribalism, from a tendency for professions to become hereditary, common to many peoples all over the civilized world, and from the endogamous propensities of a social order with an already established tradition of hierarchic degree".[5] This is not to deny the role played by miscegenation. He adds, "Reading Manu and other *Dharmashastra* texts, the castes were sub-divisions of the four *Varnas* or classes, the result of miscegenation".[6]

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer in his work "Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals" has naturally dwelt at length with the concept of *Dharma* as idealised as well as practised in India. While he grants that the ". . . . rules of the Dharmashastra and the Hindu ethical ideals have undergone change from time to time in accordance with the exigencies of the times".[7]

There are certain fundamental characteristics of *Dharma*. He rightly enquired into whether the Hindu ethical code has been rigid or flexible, whether it has been stationary and could afford to remain so or has been affected by our environment, political and economic conditions and other factors. He aptly emphasizes that the Hindu ethical ideals have not remained stationary, but have changed from time to time. Yet, there is no breach of continuity in the main web of Indian culture. Moreover, there were many strands of ideas from within, which were sharpened by contact with other external cultures.

The ethical ideals rather than their practice have been emphasized by the author. He rightly grants that there were differences in rules for different strata and persons. He also concedes the point that there were disabilities imposed on the Brahmins in the 10th century A.D. in regard to occupation, livelihood and sex relations.

There are elaborate discussions in *Dharmashastras* about the rights and duties of the rulers and subjects. Hinduism also dwells persistently upon the importance of self-discipline and self-control for the regulation and co-ordination of human impulses and instincts for the perfection of character.

Hinduism was specially concerned with the preservation of the social structure and it enforced conformity in matters of external conduct, but not in the matters of opinion or doctrine. "In dealing with the mutual relations of members of society, Hinduism has generally been disposed to lay stress upon obligations rather than rights."[8]

Thus, one can see that the concept of *Dharma* is structural and takes care of social obligations. Moreover, there is a progression in the observance of stringent social obligations which paves the way for ones spiritual progress, not to say emancipation. As an integral part of the theory and practice of *Dharma* were developed the institutions of age grades i.e. the philosophy and system of *Purusharthas* and *Ashramas*. Significance of socialisation was properly grasped and emphasis was placed on appropriate mechanisms of socialisation of individual so as to make him a worthy member of society, who would automatically behave in the expected and desirable way. *Purusharthas* were considered to take care of many felt arms and goals of human life, such as, *Dharma, Artha, Kama* and *Moksha*. Even though there is a fourfold categorization of various goals of human life, *Dharma* provides a common running thread which informs the pursuit of *Artha* and *Kama*.

From ancient Vedic times one of the fundamental conceptions of our Indian culture has been the idea of three spiritual and religious debts owed by a person to the sages, gods and *pitrs,* which he paid off by the study of the ancient lore, and by having a son or sons, respectively.[9]

Another set of values is contained in the conception of *Purusharthas,* viz., *Dharma* (right conduct), *Artha* (economics, politics and civics), *Kama* (life of sex, of pleasures and aesthetics), *Moksha* (salvation, release or recovery by the self of its real nature and freedom from the bondage of low desires and aims). *Moksha* is said to be the highest goal and the first three are spoken of as *trivarga*. The concept of *Dharma* is a far-reaching one and informs every stage of human life.

Another important characteristic of Hindu culture is the system of *Ashramas*. The fourfold system of *Ashramas* makes it possible for every man to undergo progressive socialisation so as to meet the demands of the four *Purusharthas* mentioned above. "The *Ashrama* theory addresses itself to the individuals in a community and maps out for them how they should order their lives and what preparations are required for the several goals of human life."[10]

Kama and *Moksha* are not means to ends but are regarded as ultimate ends. The attainment of the *Moksha,* though possible, is not within the reach of everyone. While all the four *Purusharthas* are worthy of attainment, it has been specifically pointed out that, "*Artha* by itself in contravention of *Dharma* or duty is forbidden."[11]

The successive adoption of *Ashramas* is more in accordance with the natural course of man's life, according to which the first part is devoted to his education, the second to the pursuit of wealth by the exercise of some lawful calling or occupation and the fulfilment of one's duties to society, and the third to retirement from active life and the adoption of the life of a recluse in the forest with a view to practise religious meditation and austerities.[12]

Salvation did not mean renunciation, but the pursuit of one's duties, so as to take care of the demands of society and practical life. "Duty and interest do not always coincide, and where they do not, the problem of accounting for the sense of duty is attended with difficulties".[13] Therefore, disinterested performance of duty is recommended.

The *Varna* system classifies the whole community and was addressed to the people in the mass. The *Varnas* are properly regarded as classes, although there have been several castes which have arisen due to a multiplicity of factors. Essential feature of caste is the restrictions imposed by it on intermarriage, interdining and occupation. It is very clear that while there were only four *Varnas,* there have been several castes although attempts are made to categorise castes in different *Varnas*. Basham regards the four *Varnas* as the four great classes. He says, "A sharp distinction was made between the three higher classes and the shudras". Manu lays down that the duty of the Brahman is to study and teach, to sacrifice, and to give and receive gifts; the Kshatriya must protect the

people, sacrifice, and study; the Vaishya also sacrifices and studies, but his chief function is to tend cattle, to fill the earth, to pursue trade and to lend money; the Shudra's duty is only to serve the three higher classes — and "it is better", Manu adds, elsewhere, "to do one's duty badly than another's well".[14] A similar idea has been pursued in the *Bhagvadgita*. There is no denying the fact that this was the ideal not necessarily implemented in practice completely. The main idea underlying the fourfold classes was to ensure a proper division of labour and to accord status to every one. Moreover, due to the specialisation of functions, expertise and skills could be developed. Similarly, competition and conflict among the people were ruled out. It has been pointed out by Manu again that intermarriage between the people of different *Varnas* was possible. Hypergamy was allowed. It is difficult to say if all the castes had originated from the four classes, although it is indeed wellknown that every caste tries to fit itself into one *Varna* or the other. Moreover, there are several theories about stratification which explain one's caste in terms of one's proclivities and abilities, rather than in terms of heredity. The evolution of the caste system was meant to accommodate diverse racial elements into a meaningful whole, assigning duties and functions on the one hand and ensuring status and livelihood on the other.

Theoretically speaking the caste system was supposed to avoid competition and conflict. In fact, caste system typifies a symmetrical relationship between status and power, except perhaps for the Kshatriyas. Even then there has been, historically speaking, competition and conflict between the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas for supremacy. That is why, it can be said that ideational view of Hindu society represents one kind of reality whereas the functioning reality reflects something else. The rigidity of the system and the unintelligent emphasis on adhering to the system has been largely responsible for the decline and the downfall of this system. As a matter of fact, due to the rigidities of the caste system, other religions like Islam and Christianity always offered temptations particularly to the members of marginal castes.

The caste system has always shown a great deal of resilience and has adapted itself to the changing environment. Thus, one finds that caste has acquired a secular dimension and has thus underrated its ritual dimension. In fact, of late, it is the former which is regarded as very crucial rather than the latter. Therefore, one finds that castes entered the political arena and with political mechanisms can strive for material and economic betterment for its members.

Caste system in India is indeed regarded as a very peculiar feature of Indian society and yet one finds features of caste practised all over the world in respect of different phases of human development. Caste system can be properly regarded as one model of stratification. For want of personal and social security people tend to depend on one's membership of caste. Therefore, lack of material and economic development and the restrictions of opportunity largely explains the continuation of the caste system.

The idealised version of Hindu society has thus provided for a meaningful relationship between its various institutions like the age-grades, the *Varna* system and the caste system.

Of course, this is an idealised version and naturally one would not expect its complete implementation. Even then, the influence, it has had on the minds of the people, is clearly to be seen in the operations of these institutions, even in modern times.

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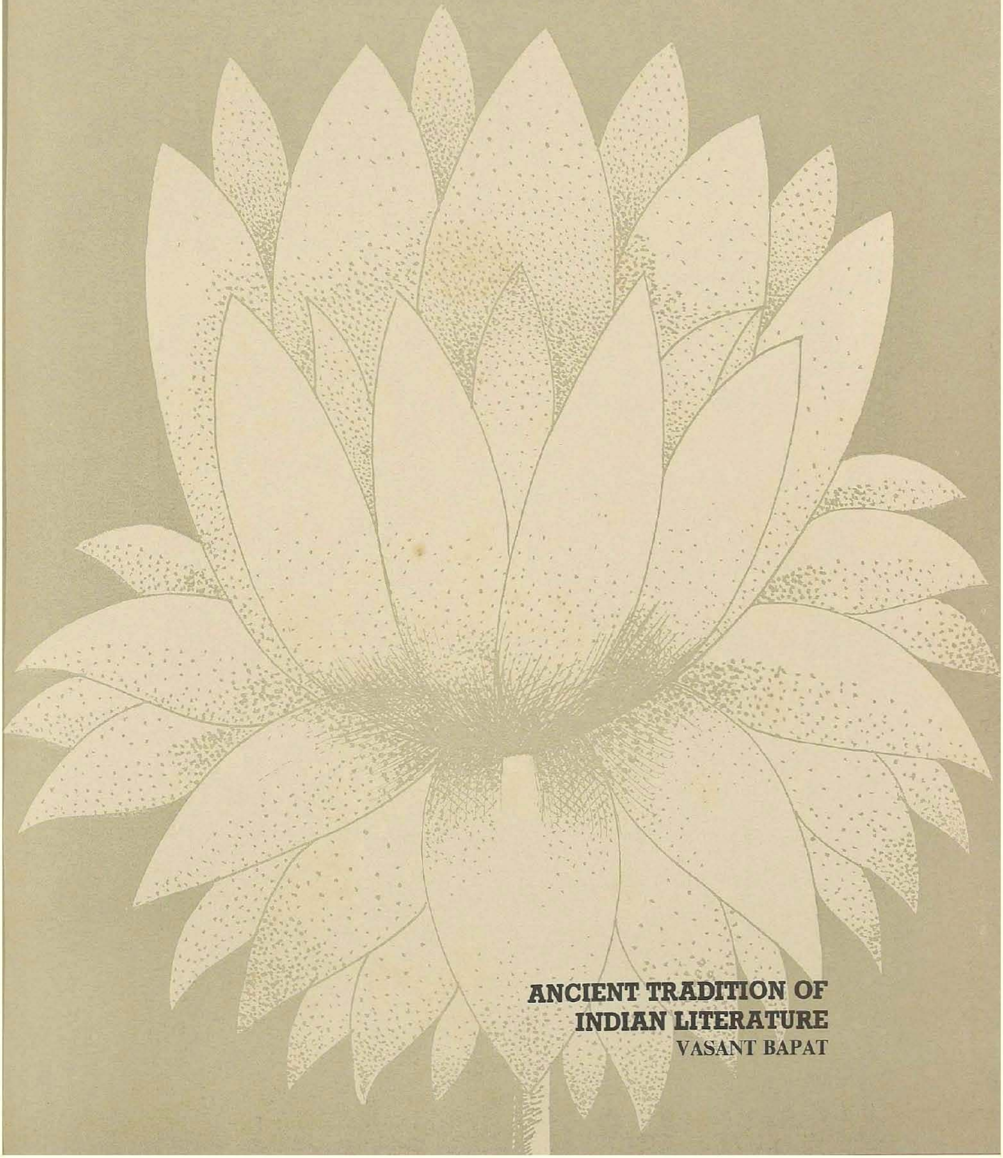
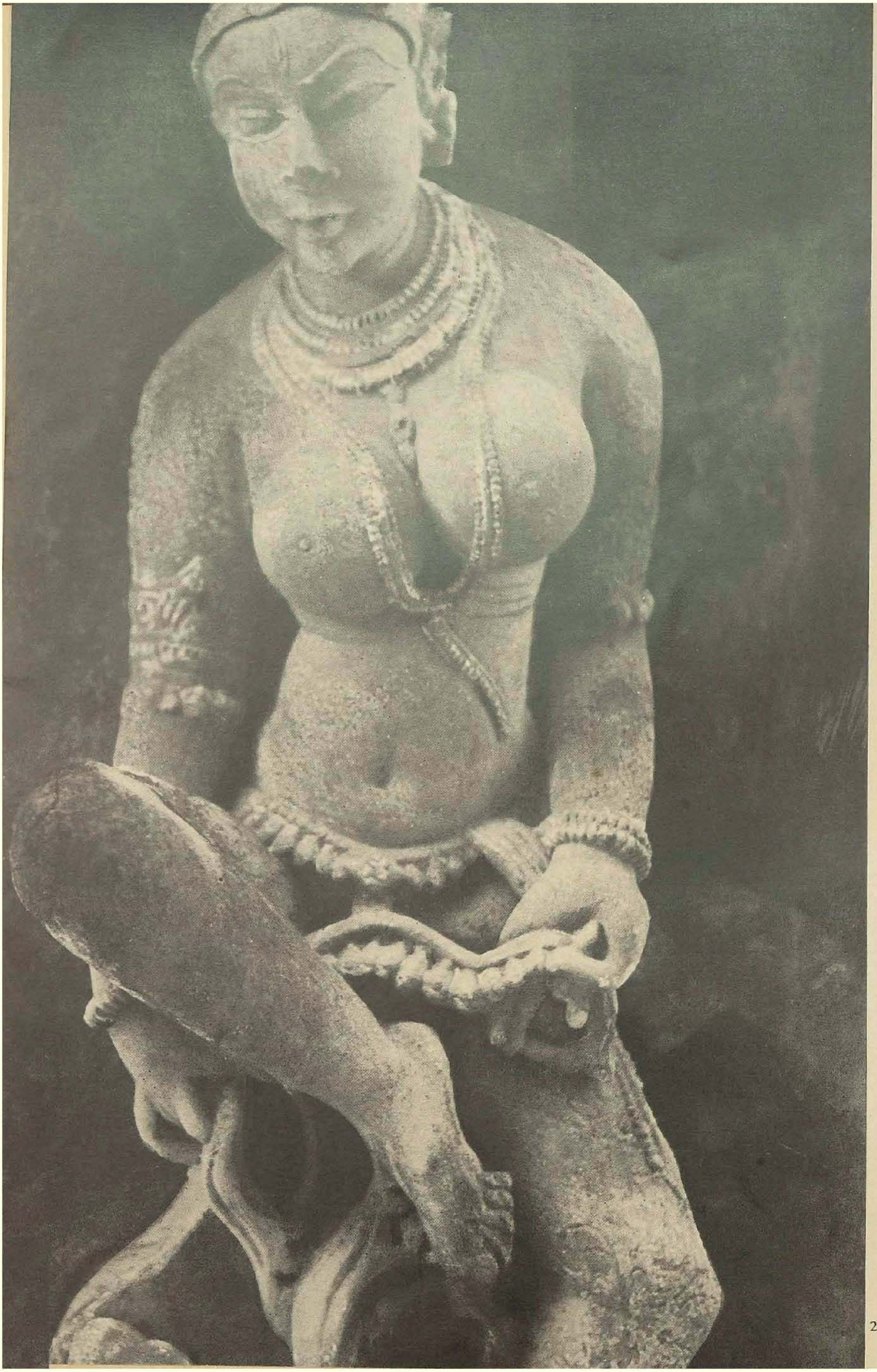


ANCIENT TRADITION OF INDIAN LITERATURE

VASANT BAPAT



21. Khajuraho

Ancient Tradition of Indian Literature

Vasant Bapat

A hundred and thirty years ago, Dr. Albrecht Weber, the celebrated German Indologist, published in book form his lectures on the History of Indian Literature. At the very outset he expressed his unhappiness about entitling the subject Indian Literature: "I cannot say that they are to treat of the History of *Indian Literature;* for then I should have to consider the whole body of Indian Languages, including those of non-Aryan origin. Nor can I say that their subject is the history of *Indo-Aryan Literature;* for then I should have to discuss the modern languages of India also, which form a third period in the development of Indo-Aryan speech. Nor, lastly, can I say that they are to present a history of *Sanskrit Literature ;* for the *Indo-Aryan* language is not in its first period, *Sanskrit,* i.e. the language of the educated, but is still a popular dialect; while in its second period the people spoke not Sanskrit, but Prakritik dialects, which arose simultaneously with Sanskrit out of the ancient Indo-Aryan vernacular ...... For the sake of brevity I retain the name *Indian Literature.*"

Dr. Weber is not the only one to find himself in such a quandary. The kaleidoscopic view of Indian literature with its myriad splendours is bewildering even today. Not only its long and continuous tradition of five thousand years but also the complexity of its weird mosaic leaves us dazed. The evolution of the Indian languages, as Dr. Weber points out, is only one aspect of this complex situation. The vast Indian sub-continent is the meeting ground of many races and religions; it has a bewildering geographical and climatic variety; and Indian culture is the efflorescence of continuous cross-pollination. Literature after all, is the quintessence of culture. No wonder, the diversity of the Indian culture is reflected in Indian literature.

The problem does not end but rather begins here : The Indian nation is made up, like a jig-saw puzzle, of many parties; it does not have a monolithic construct; it is in fact a collage of diverse factors, brought about either by historical forces or compulsions of national interest; naturally, such a union or a federal set-up will throw up not one but numerous literatures. We have therefore in India, not one Indian literature but a number of Indian literatures. Thus there exist Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit literatures; or Assamese, Bengali, Guja-

rati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam literatures; but there does not exist any such thing as *Indian literature*.

The doubt about the existence or validity of Indian literature is really not that insoluble. To question the existence of Indian literature is questioning the existence of Indian culture and indeed of Indian nationhood. Had there been no unity in India's diversity, the name of India would have been wiped off the face of this globe long ago. The Indian situation, and not our romantic idealism, is best described by the Upanishadic dictum *avibhaktam vibhakteshu* — 'Unity in Diversity'. It is true that the situation has not been uniformly the same in the long and variegated history of our five thousand years; but the sense of unity has time and again asserted itself.

It is not intended here to go into this question in detail; suffice it is to state that there is much evidence in the cultural history of India to prove her fundamental unity. In literatures in the various languages of India too, in every period and at every stage, one notices much in common not only in the spirit of their contents but also in form, imagery and symbols. The presence of an Indian ethos is noticed everywhere, transcending ethnic, sectarian, linguistic and provincial barriers, which is why everywhere in India, the Upanishads are looked upon as the provenance of all philosophy; the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are considered national epics; the rich treasures of Sanskrit poetry are every Indian's cherished property; the saint poets had the whole of India as their sphere of influence. Dr. Radhakrishnan's words brilliantly express this truth : Indian literature is one; it is written in many languages'. The term Indian literature is thus neither a holdall of assorted literatures nor a collective noun denoting a member of literatures agglutinated together. It is a generic term. It has always been been so. Of course, we do compartmentalise the subject for the sake of convenience and use labels such as Vedic or Sanskrit or Pali or Tamil or Bengali or Marathi literature. In the final analysis, however, we must remember, we are dealing with *Indian Literature*. When we take such a comprehensive view, our job becomes still more difficult; for then we start sensing how stupendous the task is to try and encompass a living tradition of thousands of years spread over a vast sub-continent and pouring out its soul in more than twenty languages. So instead of trying to embrace this huge age-old banyan tree, I shall be content to bring out a few of its salient features.

Let me then begin at the beginning. *Indian literature* begins with the *Rigveda* which represents the earliest record of human expression. The date of the *Rigveda* is not yet conclusively fixed; it could be somewhere between 5000 B.C. and 1200 B.C. ! The *Rigveda* displays a picture of social life altogether different from the one we get from the later literature. During early Vedic times, Indians had not formed agricultural village communities. The priesthood was gradually emerging; but it had not achieved a fixed place in the social order. Women enjoyed a high position. The approach to life was full of aspirations and desires. Renunciation was not the substratum of piety. Indian literature at this earliest stage contained little indication of the philosophic course it was soon to purse except in a few hymns like the *Nasadiya* Sukta (The Hymn of creation) in the tenth book of the *Rigveda*. Religion idealised and personified powers of Nature — the Dawn, the Sun, the Fire, the Wind, the Storm, the Water. Consequently the *Rigvedic* hymns are the first literary expression of man's love of nature. A few illustrations from the *Rigveda* are given below to substantiate this point.

The Hymn of Creation from the tenth book of the *Rigveda* is one of the finest expressions of mystic speculation about the unsolved riddle of Creation :

"Neither nonbeing nor being was as yet,
Neither was airy space nor heavens beyond;
What was enveloped? And where? Sheltered by whom?

And was there water? Bottomless, unfathomed?
Neither was there death nor immortality,
Nor was there any sign then of night or day;
Totally windless, by itself, the One breathed;
Beyond that, indeed, nothing whatever was.
Who really knows, who could here proclaim
Whence this creation flows, where is its origin? . . .
He, the observer, in the highest heaven,
He alone knows, unless . . . He knows it not."

The Hymn to the Dawn and the Hymn to the Sun amply illustrate the beauty of nature poetry in the *Rigveda* :

"Like a youthful maiden, Dawn shines brightly Forth
Stirring to motion every living creature.
Divine Fire was kindled for the use of men;
Dawn created light, driving away the dark.
Sending out her beams, she rose up facing all,
In brilliant robes, resplendent, radiating —
Golden-coloured and glorious to behold"

(Rigveda, Book VII, Hymn 77)

The imagery of the *Rigveda* is bold and powerful. It is uninhibited and perhaps primitive, but it is grand and picturesque all the same. Stray excerpts from the Hymns to *Maruts* (Storm-gods) and the Hymn to *Parjanya* (Rain-god) will illustrate such imagery :

"The *Maruts* of resistless might who love the rain,
resplendent, terrible like wild beasts in their strength,
Glowing like flames of fire, impetuous in career,

blowing the wandering rain-cloud, have disclosed the kine ...
They drip like horses in the racings of swift steeds; with the stream's rapid cars they hasten on their way.
Maruts with helms of gold, ye who make all things shake, come with your spotted deer, one-minded, to our food."

(II-34)

Hymn to *Parjanya*

'He strikes down the trees, he strikes also the *Rakshasas*, the whole world is afraid of *(Parjanya)* carrying mighty arms.
Even the sinless quake before the bull-like god,
When *Parjanya*, thundering, strikes the evil-doers,
Like the charioteer lashing forward his horses by the whip does he announce the messengers of rain,
Lion's roars from a distance are heard,
When *Parjanya* renders rainy the sky"

(V — 83)

Even a few illustrations such as these are adequate to bring out the excellence of the *Rigvedic* poetry. We are bound to be impressed with the vigour, power and beauty of the Hymns. In the other *Samhitas (Collections)*, i.e. the *Yajus*, the *Sama*, the *Atharva*, however, the spirit of creativity gives way to tedious elaboration. As we go through the *Brahmanas* (Manuals of Sacrifice) we face endless theological twaddle and the touch of genius, alas is missed all through. This tedium vanishes when we approach the last phase of the Vedic literature — the Upanishads (sessioss where the Guru imparts sacred or secret knowledge to his disciples). The philosophy of the Upanishads records the eager quest which India has been pursuing through the centuries and which has been tersely but beautifully expressed in the *Brihadaranyaka* Upanishad :

"From the Unreal lead me to the Real
From Darkness lead me to Light
From Death lead me to Immortality."

Intelligent Monism is the most prevalent philosophy of the Upanishads and its substratum is intuition. Aristotle has recorded in his 'Metaphysics' an account of Xenophanes who at the end of cosmological theorisings — similar to those in the Upanishads — looked up into the expanse of heaven and declared, "The One is God." The Upanishads do the same; but there is a difference : they burst into beautiful expression, moving and convincing. In the *Rigveda*, we occasionally come across stories or dialogues; but in the Upanishads, these are almost important features of their format. The sense of awe and wonder prompted the Vedic seers to pray to and praise the divinities; the spirit of quest and strength of conviction have given to the Upanishads. Limitations of space do not permit full illustrations here; consequently, I give below a few quotations chosen almost at random :

1. *Exhortation to the way of liberation from death* :
   "Arise ye ! Awake ye !
   Obtain your boons and understand them :
   A sharpened edge of a razor, hard to traverse,
   A difficult path is this — poets declare !
   What is soundless, touchless, formless, imperishable,
   Likewise tasteless, constant, odourless,
   Without beginning, without end, higher than the great, stable —
   By discerning That, one is liberated from the mouth of death."

   (Kathopanishad)

2. *Recognition of the Finite and the Infinite*:
   "Two birds, fast bound companions,
   Clasp close the self-same tree.
   Of these two, the one eats sweet fruit;
   The other looks on without eating.
   On the self-same tree a person, sunken,
   Grieves for his impotence, deluded;
   When he sees the other, the Lord, contented,
   And his greatness, he becomes freed from sorrow."

   (Mundakopanishad)

3. Instruction in the form of dialogues is one of the most interesting features of the Upanishads.
   (a) *Yajnavalkya and Maitreyi*:
   Now then, Yajnavalkya had two wives, Maitreyi and Katyayani. Of the two, Maitreyi was a discourser on sacred knowledge; Katyayani had just a woman's knowledge in that matter.
   Now then, Yajnavalkya was about to commence another mode of life. 'Maitreyi !' said Yajnavalkya, 'lo, verily, I am about to wander forth from this state. Behold ! Let me make a final settlement for you and that Katyayani.'
   Then spoke Maitreyi : 'If now, sir, this whole earth filled with wealth were mine, would I now thereby be immortal?" No, no !' said Yajnavalkya, 'As the life of the rich, even so would your life be. Of immortality, however, there is no hope through wealth.'
   Then spoke Maitreyi: 'What should I do with that through which I may not be immortal? What you know, sir — that, indeed, explain me.'

   (Brahadaranyaka Upanishad)

   (b) *Shvetaketu and his father*:
   Now, there was Shvetaketu Aruneya ...
   He then, having become a pupil at the age of twelve, having studied all the Vedas, returned at the age of twenty-four, conceited, thinking himself learned, proud.
   Then his father said to him: 'Shvetaketu, my dear, since now you are conceited, think yourself learned, and are proud, did you

also ask for that teaching whereby what has not been heard of becomes heard of, what has not been thought of becomes thought of, what has not been understood becomes understood?' 'How, pray, sir, is that teaching?'

'Just as, my dear, by one piece of clay everything made of clay may be known — the modification is merely a verbal distinction, a name; the reality is just "clay" . . .'

'Bring hither a fig from there.'

'Here it is, sir'.

'Divide it'.

'It is divided, sir.'

'What do you see there?'

'These rather fine seeds, Sir'.

'Of these, please, divide one.'

'It is divided, sir.'

'What do you see there?'

'Nothing at all, sir.'

Then he said to him: Verily, my dear, that finest essence which you do not perceive — verily, my dear, from that finest essence this great *Pipal* tree thus arises.

Believe me, my dear,' said he, 'that which is the finest essence — this whole world has that as its soul. That is Reality. That is Atman. That art thou, 'Shvetaketu'.

(c) *Nachiketas and the (God of) Death*:

Nachiketas went to the abode of Death at the instance of his father. Death asked him to choose three boons. The dialogue given below concerns the third boon.

Nachiketas :

This doubt that there is in regard to a man deceased: 'He exists,' say some; 'He exists not,' say others — This would I know, instructed by thee ! Of the boons this is boon the third.

Death:

Even the gods had doubt as to this of yore !
For truly, it is not easily to be understood.
Subtile is this matter.
Another boon, O Nachiketas, choose !
Press me not ! Give up this one for me ! . . .
Choose centenarian sons and grandsons,
Many cattle, elephants, gold and horses.
Choose a great abode of earth.
And thyself live as many autumns as thou desirest. This, if thou thinkest an equal boon,
Choose-wealth and long life ! . . . .
O Nachiketas, question me not regarding dying ! . . . .

Nachiketas . . . .

Ephemeral things ! That which is a mortal's
O End-maker,
Even the vigour of all the powers, they wear away.
Even a whole life is slight indeed.
Thine be the vehicles ! Thine be the dance and song ! . . . .
This thing whereon they doubt, O Death !
What there is in the great passing-on tell us that !
This boon, that has entered into the hidden —
No other than that *does Nachiketas* choose

(Kathopanishad)

It is traditionally believed, and in a sense it is true, that the most famous ethical and metaphysical text of India — the *Bhagvadgita* — is the essence of the Upanishads. This 'Song Divine' (Gita) has a simple but elegant diction, and its impact was so great and deep that, ironically, it wiped out every philosophical discourse that preceded it ! The Gita is a book within a book, for it is a part of the great, epic Mahabharata. The hero Arjuna at the outset of battle feels that though his cause is just, it would be sinful for him to kill his kinsmen in the ranks of his enemies. Krishna, his chariotter, and also his friend philosopher and guide then proceeds to explain to him the highest truth regarding life and death :

"He who thinks this is the slayer and he who thinks this is the slain do not understand.
It neither slays nor is it slain.
"It is never born and never dies, nor,
once it exists, does it cease to be.
Unborn, eternal abiding and ancient
it is not slain when the body is slain
"As a man puts off his worn out clothes
and puts on other new ones,
So the embodied puts off worn out bodies
and goes to others that are new . . . .
"If you do not fight this just battle you will fail in your own law
And in you honour,
and you will incur sin"

Further stressing the importance of 'action without attachment', Krishna asks Arjuna to do his duty for the glory of God.

"There is nothing in the three words which I need, nothing I do not own,
nothing which I must get —
and yet I labour forever.
"If I did not always work unwearying
men would follow my ways.
The worlds would perish if I did not work —
I should bring back chaos, and all beings would suffer . . . .
"Cast all your acts upon me,
with your mind on the Highest Soul.
Have done with craving and selfhood.
Throw off your terror, and fight !
For there is more joy in doing one's own duty badly,
than in doing another man's duty well.

It is joy to die in doing one's duty,
but doing another man's duty brings dread."

In the early phases of every literature it is not easy to separate religion and poetry. Poetry often tends to be metaphysics and metaphysics poetry. Theological discourses are interspersed with legends, ballads or dialogue. Even in the arid manuals of rituals we occasionally get green patches of lovely legends, and sublime poetry is found punctuating the black-magic incarnations of the Atharva Veda.

The non-Vedic religions and sects also left for posterity a voluminous literature of abundant variety. The sermons and meaningful utterances of the Buddha and Mahavira constitute great literature. The legends about the 'Bodhisattvas' and 'Tirthankaras' and the fables incorporated in the 'Jataka' literature are important aspects of the non-Vedic literatures. *Their choices of the popular languages (Prakritas)* as media of expression is only a part of their rejection of orthodoxy. The Jatakas have inspired artists and poets to a considerable extent, and their influence like the influence of the great Indian epics, has crossed the frontiers of India to enter several other countries — especially those of South-east Asia. Below is quoted a famous passage attributed to Mahavira :

"As the dead leaf when its time is up
falls from the tree to the ground,
so is the life of man.
Gautama, always be watchful !
"As the dewdrop that sways on a blade of
grass lasts but a moment,
so is the life of man.
Gautama, always be watchful ! ....
"So cast away all attachments,
and be pure as a lotus, or as water in autumn.
Free from every attachment,
Gautama, always be watchful !"

(Gautama, a disciple of Mahavira, not to be confused with the Buddha.)

The Ramayana and the Mahabharata are the two great national epics of India. They have been held in great esteem for the last two thousand years and more and they continue to be inexhaustible sources of Indian literature in all the different languages. Even the most modern contemporary creative minds come under their spell, and the epics or their parts or components are often used or interpreted to suit the complex problems of our own times. These two great works refuse to be out-dated and are not therefore literature of the Old World ! They are the embodiment of the continuity of India's culture through ages and have become a part and parcel of our very existence.

Of the two, the Ramayana is more compact and orderly. It is a poem of about a hundred thousand lines (more than 24000 shlokas.) The Mahabharata in its present form is at least four times bigger than the Ramayana and has rather a loose construct full of long digressions. It's author was Vyasa according to traditional belief. The modern research, however, has proved its multiple authorship. In fact this longest single poem in the world's literature has taken centuries for its completion. It might, indeed, be an amalgam of numerous folk tales and ballads, and was continuously enlarged by additions and interpolations. The epic tells of the great civil war in the kingdom of the Kurus; but the long preamble of the main episode is remarkably dramatic, extremely powerful and the story with its complex situations is skillfully woven.

The Mahabharata, on account of its large number of elaborate digressions, its didactic interludes and repetitious style has lost its shape. It has been rightly described as a compendium of all knowledge ! And yet the grandeur of its theme, the complex and powerful characterisation, the vastness of its canvas and the high sense of drama shown by its authors mark the Mahabharata out as the greatest masterpiece in Indian literature. Its characters still lend themselves to interesting re-interpretations and the various episodes — either from the main story or the digressions — have been profitably exploited by later poets and dramatists. The Ramayana has less power but greater artistic beauty. The flow of the main narrative is mostly unobstructed but it is often enlivened with poetic exuberance.

The two epics in their present form have been there for two thousand years at least. They, along with the Shrimad Bhagavata Purana, have been the foundation of Indian culture and literature. Their fabulously large treasure of tales and their infinite variety of characters have provided source material to artists and writers all over India for all these two thousand years. In fact, the influence of these national epics, direct or diffused, is noticeable in the literature of almost every language of India and that too for all these centuries. They constitute therefore the most important unifying force in India's cultural life. That the post-epic Indian literature is an offshoot of the epics is proved by the fact that great poets and playwrights of the classical period have unreservedly borrowed themes from the epics. Bhasa, the first and the foremost dramatist of this period, has boldly reinterpreted themes and characters from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana : In one of his plays the *Urubhangam,* he has brought out the nobility of Duryodhana — the wicked Kuru prince of the Mahabharata. He has shown how defiant and dignified in defeat Duryodhana was. In another play, *Pratima,* Bhasa has succeeded in arousing our sympathy for Kaikeyi, the selfish and cruel queen of King Dasharatha of the Ramayana. Bhasa has written thirteen plays, two out of which are based on the Ramayana episodes and seven on those of the Mahabharata. Kalidasa, perhaps the most

illustrious poet of the classical period, has borrowed the original theme of his famous *Shakuntalam* from the Mahabharata. His court-epic *Raghuvamsham* is based on the Ramayana. Bhavabhuti's plays *Mahaviracharitam* and *Uttara-Rama charitam* are Ramayana-inspired. There are many more such illustrations in the long span of a thousand years of classical literature that underscore the greatness of the epics as a never dying source of literary energy. It is wrong to believe that religion was the only cementing force holding divergent trends together. We notice amazing unity and continuity in the secular aspects of art and literature. Parts of Vedic literature are secular. The epics were, to start with, secular; but they were held later almost in the same reverence as the Sacred Books are held. The themes from the epics were exploited for secular literature. In fact the classical Sanskrit literature or the Kavya Literature is basically and almost entirely secular. The ancient Tamil poetry was secular. (see 'Speaking of Shiva' by A. K. Ramanujam.) In the Prakritic or Apabhramsha literature there are any number of ballads, gnomic verses, couplets and tales that are secular. True, there is a plethora of didactic and esoteric works in the ancient and mediaeval literature of India; but the magnitude and quality of secular literature too should not be ignored. Since such literature by its very nature knows no barriers, it crosses provincial boundaries to travel far and wide and so it did in India. The men of genius in ancient India always had a national identity. The thinkers and philosophers never carried any provincial stickers. Whenever they were grouped or classified, the basis always was theoretical or stylistic and never regional or sectarian. Such receptive freedom in our cultural life helped to give a singular identity to Indian literature.

I wish to enlist and very briefly describe here some major works in Indian literature produced in the first millenium of the Christian era. In poetry, the longer narratives (termed generally as court-epics) have a place of pride. The important compositions in this genre include *Bhuddhacharitam* (The Buddha's Life) by Ashvaghosha; *Raghuvamsham* (The Race of Raghu) and *Kumarasambhavam* (The Birth of Kumara) by Kalidasa *Kiratarjuniyam* (The Story of the Forester and Arjuna) by Bharavi; *Shishupalavadham* (The Slaying of Shishupala) by Magha; and *Naishadhiyacharitam* (The Story of the King of Nishadhas) by Harsha. *Meghadutam* by Kalidasa is a gem of a poem, intensely lyrical, altogether original, and crystallizing in a nutshell all the beauty and tenderness of Sanskrit poetry. In Drama, special mention must be made of the plays of Bhasa, Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Shudraka and Vishakhadatta. The better known plays are Bhasa's *Urubhangam*, *Pratima* and *Svapnavasavadattam;* Kalidasa's *Abhijnana-Shakuntalam;* Bhavabhuti's *Uttararamcharitam* and *Malatimadhavam;* Shudraka's *Mrichchhakatikam* (The Little Clay Cart); and Vishakhadatta's *Mudrarakshasam.* In the prose romances, Bana's *Kadambari* and Dandi's *Dashakumaracharitam* merit our attention. The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya (4th century B.C.) and the *Natyashastra* of Bharata are outstanding works in their respective fields. Limitations of space do not permit here any elaboration. The lifting panegyrics ascribed to Shankaracharya and the gnomic verses of Bhartrihari are also interesting literary works. Altogether the literature of this priod, although somewhat artificial and contrived, is remarkable for its aesthetic qualities and its spirit of harmony and contentment. The atmosphere in this literature seems to be peaceful and harmonious. The pace of life was slow and easy. The age of the imperial Guptas has been rightly called the Golden Age of India's history and it was in this age that all arts and lores of ancient India reached their zenith. Literature was no exception.

That Indian literature existed as one literature during the Vedic, Upanishadic, epic and classical ages none will dispute. The dispute arises when we come to the mediaeval period. It was then that the old order changed yielding place to new. It was when Sanskrit's empire was on the decline and even the Prakrit principalities had become weak. Politically India, about a thousand years ago, had almost been balkanised and next she would have been on the brink of cultural disintegration. Aggressive faiths had forced open the gates; but the indigenous ones were firmly rooted. The only way to survive gracefully was to welcome a synthesis of opposite forces, and Nature taught India to take that course.

If we observe carefully the pattern of development of Indian literature during the second millenium of the Christian era, we are confronted with a paradox at the very outset : On the one hand we find the disintegration of an almost homogenous literature while on the other, we find its various offshoots vigorously developing into independent units. Most of the literary languages of the present-day India, with perhaps the exception of Tamil got themselves launched in or about the 11th century A. D. To begin with, our different literatures appear to be the extensions of esoteric writing of the previous age, but soon they found their independent identities. They created their own genres and were imbued with almost a crusading spirit, a fervour to establish their claim to existence independent of Sanskrit and its satellites. Sanskrit too was making a desperate bid to survive not only as the vehicle of a ritualistic religion and formal philosophy but also as a living literary force. It continued to produce discursive prose, didactic compositions and devotional panegyrics. Even in its last days, we come across, apart from works on grammar, poetics and theology, attractive poetry such as Jayadeva's lilting opera *Gitagovindam* or Jagannatha's soulful *Gangalahari* and sparkling *Bhaminivilasam.* Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara* (Ocean of Tales) and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (The

River of Kings) also could be cited as outstanding compositions of this period. Soon, the literary works in the vernaculars outnumbered and outclassed their contemporary counterparts in Sanskrit. Sanskrit receded in the background and for the last five hundred years or so it is looked upon more as an ancient heritage than an important channel of literary expression. The Prakrit languages and their later versions called the Apabhramsha languages did produce some noteworthy literature. The secular epics *Setubandha* (The Building of the Bridge) and *Gaudavaho* (The Slaying of the King of Bengal) and *Paumcariyam* — the Jain version of the Ramayana — deserve a special reference. So does the *Gatha Saptashati* of Hala an anthology of cryptic poems which, like the Japanese Haikus, convey romantic incidents or tales. The love affairs of country folk is the recurring theme of these tiny poems. The earliest Tamil lyrics might be the source of such compositions. Tamil poetry has a tradition of about two thousand years and it soon matured enough to produce a moralising compendium like *Thirukkural* and on epic like *Silappadigaram* (Jewelled Anklet). The happy blending in India of diverse cultures is convincingly brought out by the adaptation of Ramayana in Tamil by the great poet Kamban and the Tamil epic *Manimegalai* composed under the influence of Buddhism. In the early stages of Tamil literature, it contained abundant secular poetry as also gnomic verses full of pithy aphorisms of ethical import. The later day Tamil literature lost its individual identity perhaps under the all-pervasive Aryan influence. In the mediaeval period it is found marching in step with other literatures.

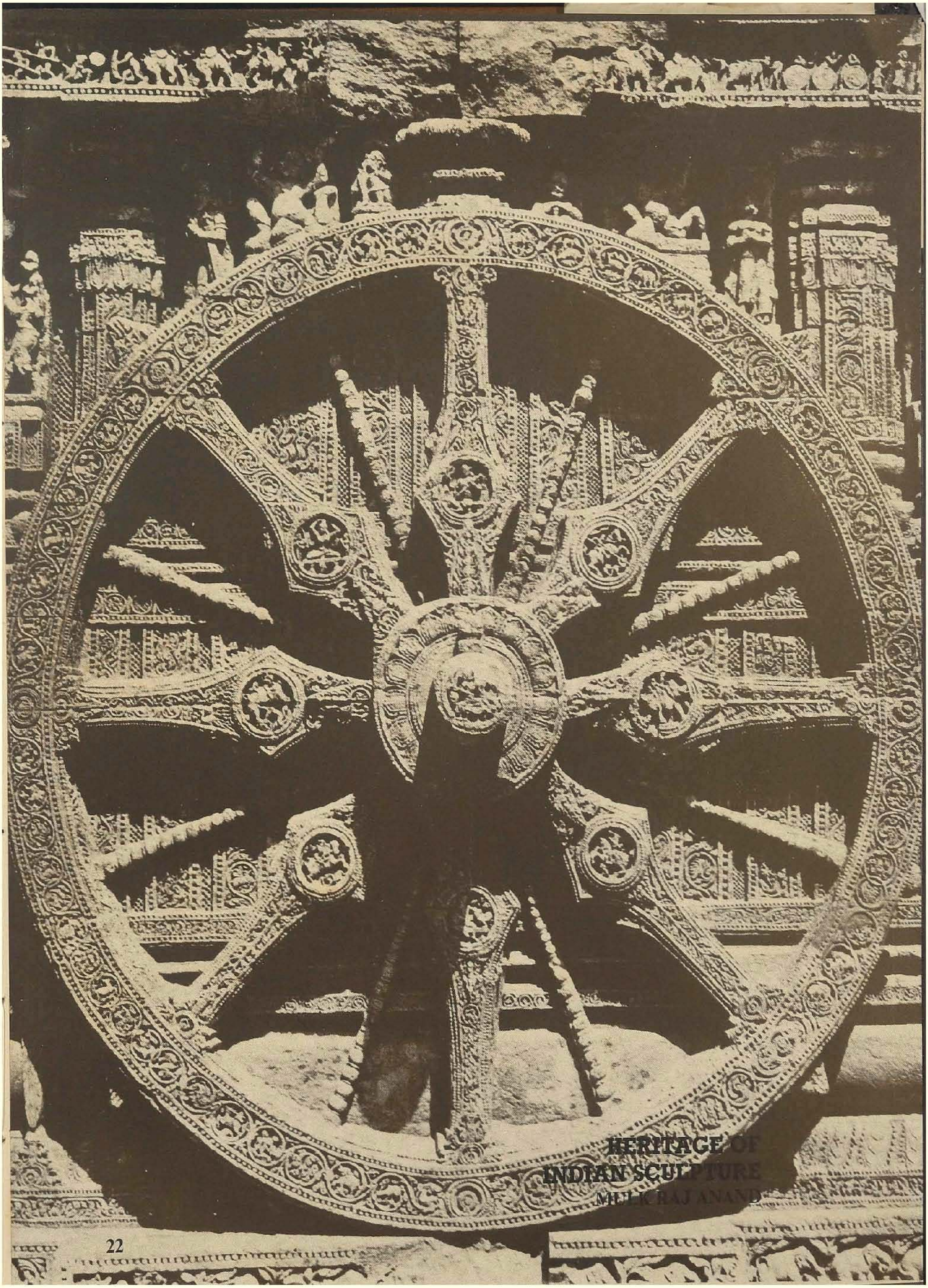
The advent of Islamic rule in India did not affect her literary traditions so much as it did her languages. No doubt, the inclusion of Persian and Arabic words enriched the vocabularies of quite a few Indian languages. Persian, the court language of the rulers, has certainly been responsible for changing the syntax patterns in these languages. It is, however, curious that the literary traditions prevalent here continued almost unimpeded. The influence of Islam in this field is of limited magnitude and that too is diffused and diluted. Islam did perform a catalytic role to change the religious thinking of those times. It helped to remove the ritualistic overtones of the Hindu theology and broaden the outlook of many Saint poets. Sectarian attitudes either disappeared or were tempered. The utterances of Nanak, Kabir or Ekanath convincingly prove this point. And yet, it seems, the main streams of Indian literature mostly kept to their indigenous courses almost to the point of stagnation. The unending *rehashes* of the Puranas, the plethora of ornate narrative poetry, the abundance of didactic and esoteric literature and such other factors are certainly not signs of vitality and health. But except the mystic lyricism of the Sufi saints and the popular romances of Persia, Islam contributed little else to enrich the themes or genres of Indian literature.

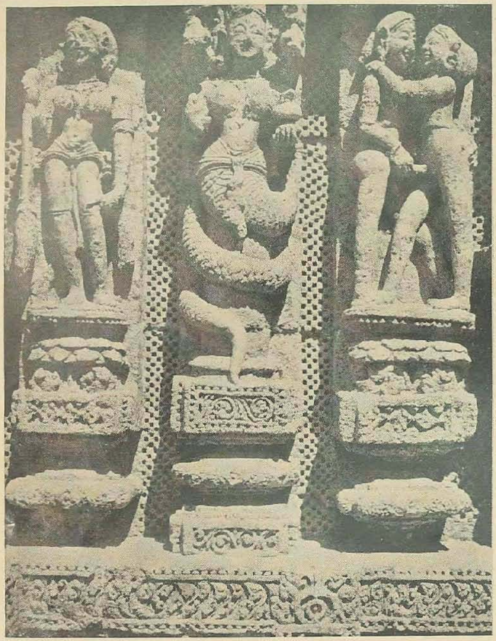
There arose two types of literature to enliven this bleak situation : the beautiful, often original renderings of the great Indian epics and the soulful devotional lyrics of the saint poets. These two are the strong and colourful warp and weft of the mediaeval Indian literature. *Krittivasa Ramayana* in Bengali, Tulsidasa's *Ramacharitamanasa* in Hindi, Kamban's Ramayana in Tamil, Pampa's Ramayana in Kannada and Ekanatha's *Bhavartharamayana* and Shridhara's *Ramavijaya* in Marathi are major works in these languages. Tulsi's work, popularly known as *Tulasiramayana*, has been an unfailing companion of the masses in the Hindi-speaking regions for the last five centuries. It has taken over the ethical function from the books of religion proper and has transcended literary confines to enter other areas of culture. The southern versions of Ramayana are remarkable for their author's ingenuity and originality. Mahabharata too has been rendered by mediaeval poets in their different languages. In Marathi alone, there are at least three such major versions, by Mukteshvara, Moropant and Shridhara. Kumara Vyasa has given us a Kannada adaptation of the Mahabharata. Nannaya, the first known poet of Andhra, started working on the Telugu version; Tikkana in the 13th century and Eranna in the 14th continued and completed it. *Ranganath-Ramayanam* is the Telugu adaptation of the Valmiki-Ramayana. Later on it proved to be the starting point of a hundred such adaptations in Telugu. Sarala Dasa's Mahabharata, as also Balarama Dasa's Ramayana, in the Oriya language are considered national epics by the people of Orissa. Shankara Panicker and Rama Panicker, authors of imaginative versions of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana in Malayalam, are held in similar esteem in Kerala. It is obvious that nowhere have these poets attempted a faithful translation of the original Sanskrit works; they have recast the originals to suit their individual genius, regional milieu and social or cultural need. In the process they have caused a substantial development of their language and literature, which is why in the literary history of most of the regions in India we find a high place of honour given to them and thus there is justification for calling the adaptations as warp of the rich fabric of Indian literature. Devotional poetry is its weft; but it is made up of numerous strands. The Shaiva cults of the South are traditionally looked upon as the progenitors of this literature. The river of devotion originated in the South but travelled Northward. There mostly it dons the robes of Vaishnavism. In and around Bengal, where the Mother Goddess has been a favourite detiy, we come across a number of excellent works about Chandi, the goddess, besides a rich vault of Vaishnava lyrics like the *Carya-gitis*. Shankaradeva Madhavadeva of Assam, Vidyapati and Chandidas of Bengal, Jayadeva of Orissa, Suradasa of the Vraj region (near Mathura), Mira of Rajasthan, Narasi Mehta (of

Gujarat), Namdeva, Eknath and Tukaram of Maharashtra, Purandaradasa of Karnataka, Potana of Andhra and such other mediaevl saints are great as poets too. They together created a new world of ecstatic lyricism and introduced the element of transparent and intense subjectivity. They brought in a whiff of fresh air in the otherwise stiffling environment of uninvolved, detached but clever versification. In the limited sphere of devotion, they did create new ways of expression, genres if not forms. Their poetry saved the Indian literature of their times from being cult, occult and metaphysical speculation. Ofcourse, they share the same deficiencies and limitations.

The literary scene in India looks haggard and poor for a long period in the last phase of the Middle Ages. Literature everywhere in India was suffocated by pundits, learned in a way, but bereft of genius. Acrobatics in versification and excesses in ornamentation usurped the throne of the Muse. Even these raiments were getting worn out fast and nothing short of a shock treatment was to save the situation. It was to come in the form of total defeat and despair. The British imperialism, it seems, was destined to rouse the spirit of the Indian nation and that it did in the nineteenth century. The British Raj proved to be a blessing in disguise. On the one hand it oppressed and exploited India up to the hilt to arouse the great Indian people to protest and resistance and, on the other, it threw open the portals of western education and culture to inadvertantly help this ancient country to catch up with the New World. It is not possible here to bring out fully all the forces of change. Suffice it is to say that soon after India received the object lessons in Western culture and after altogether different intellectual life was brought by the universities within the reach of Indians, not only the face but also the inmost recesses of our cultural life changed considerably. Consequently, literature too underwent an unprecedented change. With the arrival and acceptance of the printing press, prose saw its first real flowering. New forms observed in English literature were introduced in our literatures. New themes were soon discovered and those found expression through the newly acquired forms. When one watches the developments of the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century one is amazed at their fast pace. The epochs of 'Enlightenment', Renaissance', 'Neo-Classicism', 'Romanticism', 'Realism' and 'Surrealism' either come in quick succession or jostle side by side. It is true that the pattern of change in its early stages was not uniform and simultaneous in the different regions of India : but now in the last quarter of the twentieth century, that is in about a hundred years or so every literature in India shows a striking similarity of approach and appearance. The Sahitya Akademi (the National academy of Literature) has recognised more than twenty languages of India as literary languages and its operations — both inputwise and outputwise — cover all of them.

Our association with England made us aware of our shortcomings but then we moved fast to remove the lacunae. Total neglect of natural and social sciences, and that of techniques of social and political organization, had made India a weak nation. It will be sheer self complacence to believe that we have made up for all these lapses, but still the effort of this country to shed its age-old backwardness and walk abreast with the developed nations has been magnificent. During the last hundred years, we find the whole Indian nation shouldering the same responsibilities, bearing the same burdens and sharing the same joys and sorrows. Writers of all languages have a common ethos and a similar milieu. They have striven in the past for reaching common goals, either of social reform or political and individual freedom. There is among Indians a growing awareness of their larger identity, that of being Indian nationals. The cultural unity of India is being rediscovered in modern times and writers have contributed a great deal to this process. Many of them have transcended the regional and linguistic boundaries to emerge as great Indian writers. Tilak and Gandhi, the architects of India's freedom, were powerful writers. Bankimchandra, the nineteenth century novelist from Bengal, gave us the image of Mother India. Yogi Shri Aurobindo's writings brought to life the spiritual heritage of India, just as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru discovered her nationhood. It was the great Urdu poet Iqbal and the Bengali poet Kazi Nazrul Islam who spurred us on to great deeds. Rabindranath Tagore, that towering colossus among Indian writers, was the harbinger of the twentieth century cultural renaissance and he enriched our sensibilities with his poems, plays and fiction. It was Sharatchandra, yet another stalwart from Bengal, who explored the agony of oppressed Indian womanhood and Premchand, the master of story-telling in Hindi and Urdu, who plumbed the anguish of rural India. Without the monolithic national identity of the Sanskrit era, Indian literature today helps to bind the national aspirations together even on the background of a federal administrative set-up. To analyse the nature of present-day Indian literature in the light of this historical consistency is an enterprise demanding another dissertation of equal length. One can convincingly say, however, that contemporary Indian literature has assimilated its long tradition, is fully aware of changes in a world governed by science and technology but maligned by the politics of power, and has still managed to retain a depth and coherence of expression.


HERITAGE OF
INDIAN SCULPTURE
MULK RAJ ANAND

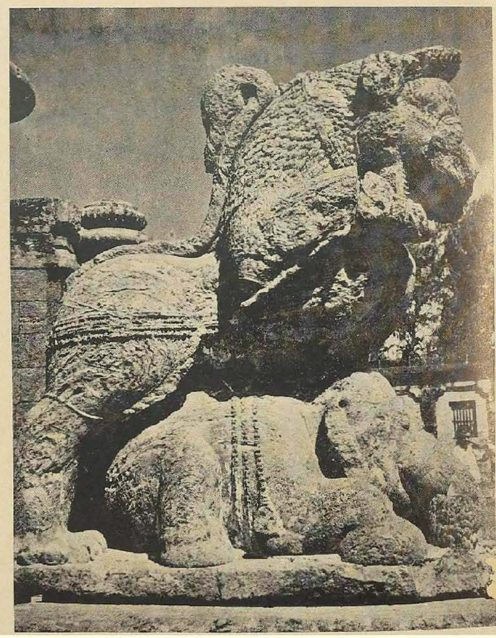


23. Konarak

24. Sungod : Konarak

25. Shiva-Parvati : Ellora

26. Konarak



Heritage of Indian Sculpture

Mulk Raj Anand

In common with the artistic expression of all early civilisations, Indian art evolved to satisfy spiritual needs after material necessities, such as food and shelter, had been met. In the earliest known culture in India, the Proto Dravidian, in Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Rupar, Lothal, Maheshwar and Navdatoli there is evidence of this pattern of development. Following on basic social organisation, certain symbols, ideograms and images appeared — embossed seals with geometric shapes on clay pots, terracotta figures of a god similar to the future Shiva, and bronze and stone idols. No unified system of belief is indicated — rather a kind of animism through which every thing ascribed to a spirit, a power. The emphatic female pudenda show an obsession with birth, fertility and procreation; the trident of the Shiva figure indicates the awareness of power, the stance of the dancer, the appreciation of rhythmic movement and the belly of the Harappa-type torso the love of volume and rotundity.

This primitivism characterises the terracotta remains of the next thousand years of Indian culture. Fertility images become expressions of the worship of mother goddess, with big hips, protuberant breasts and pudenda even more emphatic than before. Female figures are more frequent than male and dryads, fauns, bird and tree spirits become elaborated into a pantheon of the forest life.

The Aryan conquerors, who probably destroyed the Indian valley civilisation as evidenced in Mohenjodaro-Harappa civilisation (c. 1500 B.C.), brought with them a culture which defined the elements and their manifestations. As they inter-married with the Dravidian population, which they enslaved, they absorbed their fertility images as well as tree spirits, snake gods, ghosts and hobgoblins. They decorated their fire altars with abstract geometric designs, but did not use clay, stone or paint.

In the period of synthesis between Aryan and Dravidian cultures, a sigle cosmic philosophy was created : once there was *Brahma,* the Supreme One, the Creator; his union with his consort created the manifold universe, but the ultimate objective is to return to the One. In pracice, this view of the cosmos was expressed in prayer to, and contemplation of, certain symbols, such as the lotus, rising on its stem-

axis above the waters of the universe, its petals open in all directions. The female pudenda of the surviving terracotta figures show that the female organs were worshipped as the source of life and the phallus, in the form of oblong stones, is exalted as the creator. Daubs of red paint on any wayside mound symbolised magical sacrifices to appease dead gods.

Some giant sculptures survive from pre-christian eras. These seem to be funerary statues of kings, huge in volume; heavy, brooding and intense. The ghosts of kings may have been worshipped as in earlier Egyptian, Hittite, Assyrian, Babylonian and Achaemenid civilisations. Achaemenid influence in India survives in the tall Persepolitan pillars, topped by lions, which Ashoka caused to be erected in various places after his conversion to Buddhism, carved with his edicts proclaiming peace, goodwill and righteousness. The buxom Yakshi of Didaraganj has shiny surface known as 'Mauryan' polish, which derived directly from the practice of burnishing surfaces common to the sculpture of the Achaemenid Empire. Between the 6th and the 3rd century B.C. this Empire, which had its capital a Persepolis in Perisa, extended from the Nile to the Indus.

The rigid caste system imposed by the Aryans on the Dravidian population had lost none of its harshness in the merging of the two cultures. A series of revolts against this system culminated in Gautama's rejection of Vedic Hinduish and his sermon at Sarnath on attaining Buddhahood (Enlightenment) attracted a great following among the oppressed.

But Buddha forbade images of himself, believing that art forms promoted physical desire, which causes attachment to life on earth, thus distracting from the striving towards *Nirvana* (release from the cycle of birth and rebirth).

After his death, however, the old need for concrete imagery reasserted itself and stories of his birth and various incarnations, from animal to human and *Bodhisattva* (potential Buddha), were transcribed in stone near the burial mounds (stupas), in which his relics lay.

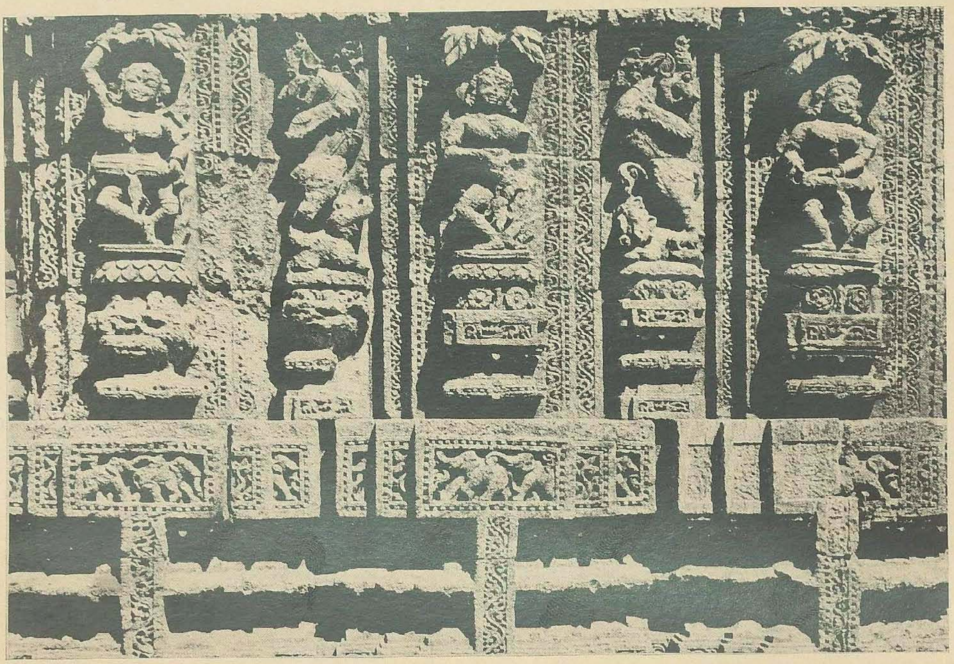
During the 2nd century B.C. onwards, an expressive art of relief sculpture developed around the *stupas;* in Barhut and Mathura in North India, Sanchi in Central India and Amravati and Nagarjunakonda in the Deccan. This was a narrative art, which assimilated the vitality of the early terracottas, the preference for curves and volume and a primitivist depiction of dramatic scenes. These demonstrated the unity of all life; plant of reliefs, as in Barhut, or the rectangular panels of reliefs, as in Barhut, or medallions, as in Amravati, show superb skill at constructing a parallel world of creative imagination in which legendary human beings live and move in intricate compositions.

At the same time as the gateways and outer walls of the Buddhist grave mounds were being decorated, a series of cave temples were being hewn from the rock in an arcshaped area extending from the western ghat mountains into the Deccan. Speculation has it that these holy places served as resting places for traders (Roman coins have been found on the sites) as well as shrines for pilgrims. The walls of these temples, and their relief sculptures, were painted, and once again the stories surrounding Buddha supplied the main themes. The extraordinary skill with which the large-scale frescoes with crowded scenes were executed, has produced some of the finest art anywhere in the world as witness the temples in Ajanta and Bagh. The technique of painting perfected here later spread to Sittanvassal and Badami in South India, to Sigiriya in Ceylon, to Taparang in western Tibet and Tun Haung in China.

In the north, after Alexander the Great's infiltration to the Indus, Buddhist sculpture flourished in Gandhara, first under the Greek rulers and subsequently under conquerors from Kushan in western China. The hybrid art which developed in this period resulted in Buddha images modelled on the Greek god Apollo. It is probable that this fashion spread to Mathura under the Kushans, for the emperor Kanishka, who ruled a vast empire, including Gandhara, from three capitals — Kapisa in Afghanistan, Peshawar on the north-western frontier of India, and Mathura on the River Jumna — adopted Buddhism. The Indian craftsman of Mathura certainly improved upon the Gandhara Buddhas; for in the Jumna and the Ganges river basins portraiture was inspired by mental images rather than physical reality, the ideal image of the Buddha being defined in the holy text as 'round, seven times round'. The Yogi figure, seated in contemplation, progressed from the Katra Buddha in Mathura, with its sharply angular arms and legs, to the benevolent standing Buddha of Mathura (5th century A.D.), the bronze Buddha of Sultanganj (6th century A.D.), and most graceful of all, the Sarnath Buddha (5th century A.D.). This progression in Buddhist art influenced Hindu sculpture during the uneasy coexistence of the two main faiths in the classical renaissance of the Guptas from the third to the fifth centuries A.D.

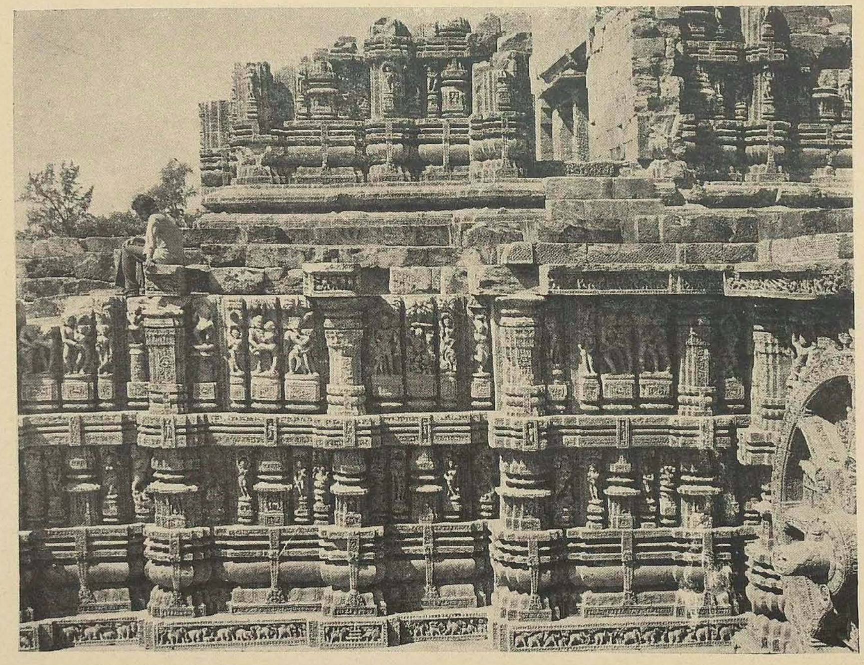
One of the greatest works of world art, both in size and quality, which can be seen at Mahabalipuram, near modern Madras, is of the 6th century A.D. Commissioned by King Mahendravarman to inspire his armies, it depicts the episode from the Hindu epic *Bhagvad Gita* about the five Pandava princes and their hundred wicked Kaurava cousins (see Religions of India, P. ii7) Carved as a giant relief into a wayside rock it contains human and animal figures in dynamic movement and has the coherence of the crowd scenes in the Ajanta paintings executed four hundred years earlier. Mahendra-

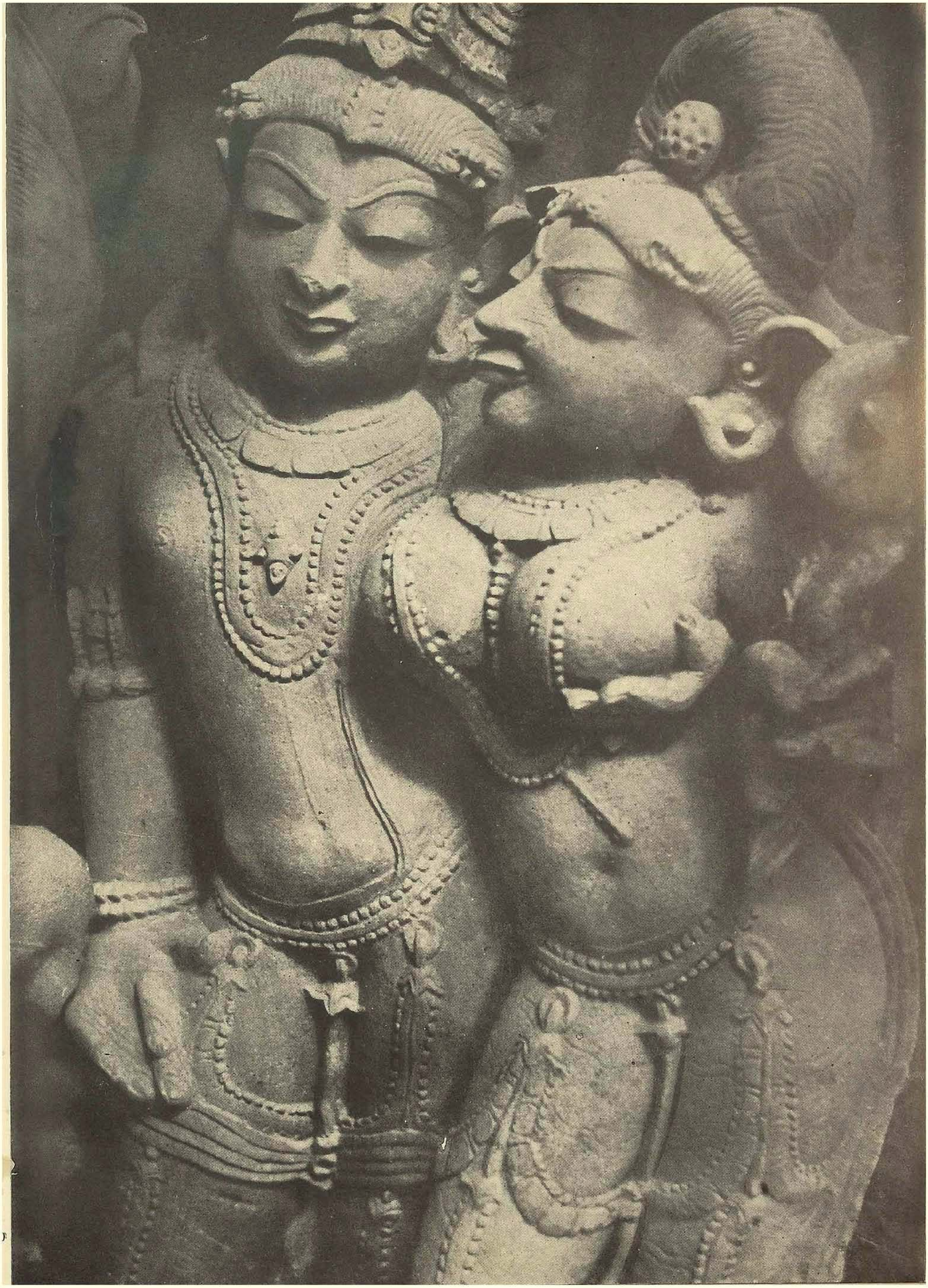
27. Belur



28. Konarak Temple

29. Konarak Temple





31. Illustration from the ms. of 'Harivamsha'

varman's son, Mammala, devout Hindu, extended the tradition of the Mahabalipuram rock to the shore temples in Mahabalipuram, in which the human figures, both femals and male, are conceived in cylindrical forms through which the master craftsmen achieved a new fluidity of movement. These large-scale carvings continued to be executed until the end of the 6th century, culminating in the relief cut into the rock in the Durga cave in Mahabalipuram, depicting Vishnu asleep.

The conflict between the two faiths seems to have intensified the desire of the priests of both to seek artistic patronage. The Hindus appear to have been more successful, and from the end of the 6th century we get carvings of the gods from the Hindu pantheon which excel previous achievement in virtuosity. The pink sandstone Vishnu in Mathura (6th century A.D.) was foreshadowed by the standing sandstone Buddha, also in Mathura, which was carved at the end of the 5th century A.D. The recumbent Vishnu in Deogarh, Central India (6th century) is reminiscent of the sleeping Vishnu in the Durga cave, but is an improvement on the latter in its harmonious handling of volume. The *Nar Narayana* relief in Deogarh (6th century) is lively enough, but static in comparison with the *Marriage of Shiva and Parvati* panel in Elephanta (6th century A.D.) and the Shiva reliefs in the Kailasa temple at Ellora (7th century). The Mahabalipuram rock is more like a rehearsal when faced with the accomplishment of later monumental reliefs. The greatest achievement of the early mediaeval period of India is the temple at Ellora, hewn on three sides from solid rock.

During the 7th and 8th centuries, the Arabs invaded Sind and Gujarat and the wall-painting tradition waned. But even with the Hun's incursions the late 6th century, in the north, and the Arabs in the west, temple-building continued in the east, especially in Orissa, and the principles of architecture, sculpture and iconography were formulated in the *Shilpashastra* — handbooks which conserved the traditions of the creative arts.

In the great sun temple of Konarak, the Black Pagoda, in south Orissa, a structure surpassed only by the great Buddhist temple at Borobudur in Central Java and the Angkor Wat complex in Cambodia, there are colossal free-standing sculptures of musicians, dancers, elephants and horses, as well reliefs illustrating battle scenes and the drama of the union between male and female. The imaginative construction of the whole is beautifully realised by the integration of the sculpture and the architecture — the movement of the figures giving energy to the static rocks which surround them. In Khajuraho, this principle was carried further. Here architecture is sculpture and sculpture is architecture. The integral unity of the design is achieved by grouping the small conical *shikharas* into the texture of the big *shikhara*. The vivification of the whole is achieved by the use of parable of creation through love scenes of the most naked but tender character. The rhythmic intertwining of male and female forms celebrates sexual union made into the actual experience of loving as a sacred rite. Nowhere in the world has such grace been infused into the union of male and female as in some of the panels of the Kandariya Mahadev temple. The carving achieves quality of finish beside which all precedents seem to be mere shadows.

The itinerant craftsmen of northern India were doubtless involved in the building of the Shiva temples in Rajasthan and the style of Khajuraho is obvious in much of the work in the Neelkanth Mahadeva temple in the forests near Alwar. A similar phase of constructivism flourished under the patronage of the Jain monarchs of Gujarat between the 11th and 13th centuries. On Mount Abu, they built a temple of white marble, transporting the stone from the plains below. It was carved using the technique of the ivory carvers, achieving fine details on the pillars and pediments which support the ceilings. The work here is unique, because the decorations are not chipped, but scraped, with incredible mastery of detail.

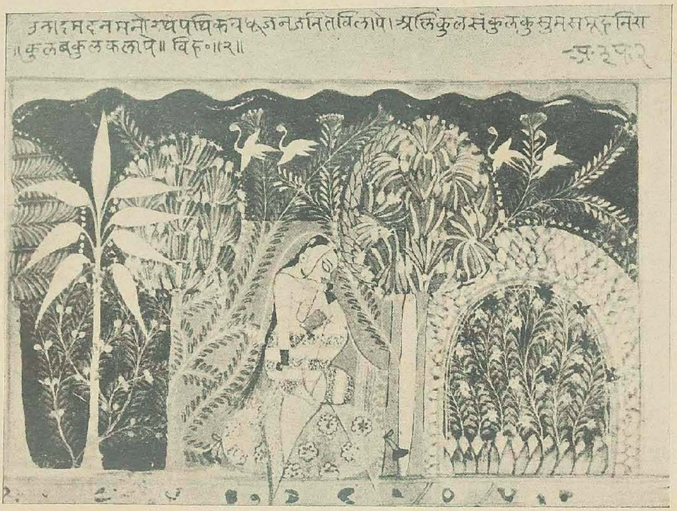
The grandiosity of the temple sculptures was balanced by several masterpieces created by the *cire perdu* (lost wax) bronze techniques, examples of which are the 6th century standing Sultanganj Buddha (now in the Birmingham Museum in the United Kingdom) and the Brahma from Mirpur Khas in Sind in the Karachi Museum. This method of casting bronze was quite widespread in Kashmir, in the Pala empire in eastern India and in Chamba in the Punjab Himalayas. In south India, this tradition was particularly encouraged under the Chola dynasty between the 10th and 13th centuries. Some of the best examples of this technique are of Shiva as Nataraj, Lord of the Dance. The iconography of Shiva as dancer embodies the Hindu concept of rhythm — he is shown stamping the dwarf Evil under his right foot, with left leg upraised, arms poised in various gestures, inscrutable face surounded by the symbolic circle of fire of the universe — transfixed in motion. Rhythm itself, as expressed in the controlled but violent movement of the dance, radiates from the best of these bronzes. Some of these are now in European museums, but some of the finest are in the Madras Museum. There are other important bronzes, modelled by craftsmen of genius. The female Parvatis, the Somaskanda compositions and the portraits of the saints should be mentioned in this context.

The *cire perdu* technique is still practised in south India, though a decline of faith has led to the diminution of creative fervour since the end of the mediaeval period at the end of the 17th century.

TREASURES OF MINIATURE PAINTING

SHRIDHAR ANDHARE

32. Hindu Singh on Camel: Rajasthani Style



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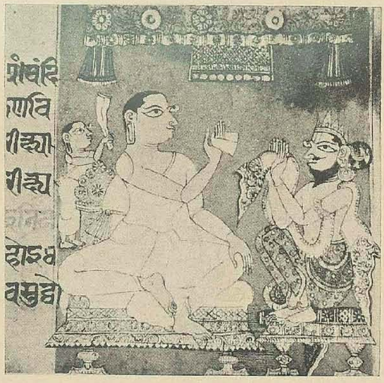

33. 'Nayika' in Swoon : Sultate Style

34. Lion conversing with a bull : Mugal School

35. 'Gita Govind'

36. Gita Govind' Western India Style

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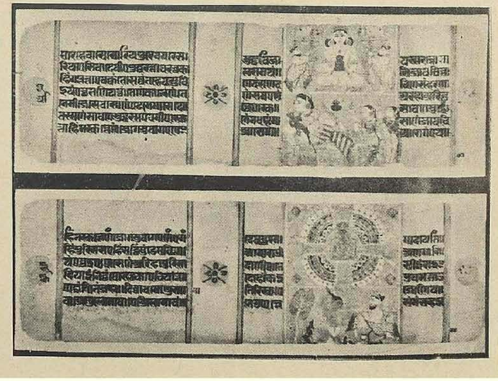


Treasures of Miniature Painting

Shridhar Andhare

After the sustained activity of the wall paintings of *Ajanta, Bagh, Sittanvasal* and the temple paintings of the South, the great era of early Indian paintings comes to an end at the close of the 10th century. Indian miniature painting in the real sense starts in the 11th and 12th century with the painted book covers of the *Pala* school. These are essentially illustrations to Buddhist texts which are more of iconographic interest and follow the contemporary trend seen in the sculptural art of Eastern India. This tradition of *Pala* painting appears to have laid the foundation of the Nepali cloth paintings known as *tankhas*.

In Western India and Gujarat, the Jain illustrated manuscripts show the same continuity of tradition and interest though somewhat different in colour schemes and technique. The figures in these paintings are marked by their linear quality and angularity of limbs, and especially by the protrusion of the farther eye into space. The predominance of red and other primary colours can be noticed. The manuscripts illustrate famous stories of the Jains such as the *Kalpasutra* and the *Kalakacharya katha*, invariably in Prakrit text. These *pothis* (Mss.) were painted mainly for the propagation of religion and were preserved in the *Jain Bhandars*. With the availability of such dated and inscribed mss. the history of Indian painting took larger strides in unfolding the history and origin of Indian miniature art. The Jain *Shresthis* or wealthy monks ordered the preparation of these opulent illustrated mss. with gold and red for the sacred act of *Shastradan* which was considered as a virtuous act designed to secure merit. They also performed *Jnana-puja* (wisdom worship). In short time the *Shastra Bhandaras* or the *Jnana Bhandaras* were filled with such sacred books which have been preserved for posterity. With the introduction of paper in the 13th|14th century the painter could utilize a larger area to depict his views on the page, though the concept was still hieratic and rigid with compartmentalisation and limited perspective. In the 15th century the hidebound tradition of Western Indian painting shows signs of a new understanding. Due to the western coast much Persian influence crept into the Western Indian painting which is clearly visible in the *Sahi* type figures depicted in the *Kalakacharya Katha* of the *Deva-sanopado Bhandar*, Ahmedabad. This religious activity of the Jain *Shresthis* spread all

over Western India, Gujarat, Malwa and also upon the Delhi-Jaunpur area which influenced the Sultanate style of painting.

Till recently it was believed that between the 14th century and the beginning of the Akbari school of Mughal painting there was only the Western Indian style which dominated the scene. A new set of documents has, however, brought to light the existence of a new school at least in the early years of the 16th century. This group of paintings is known as the *Laur-Chanda — Chaurapanchashika* group or the *Kulhadar* group (a name derived from the turban type which has a tall *Kulha)* and had its centers of production in the Delhi-Jaunpur belt as has been proved by various documents published by Karl Khandalawala and Dr. Moti chandra[1]. The *Aranyaka Parvan* of the *Mahabharata* painted at Kacchhavala near Palam in 1516 A.D. and the *Mahapurana* painted at Palam near Delhi in 1540 A.D. are two great discoveries which establish the theory of the sultanate school at least in Lodi seats of power. This school had its vestiges in the early Western Indian style and shows the influence of Lodi mannerisms in costume types. It is certain that these works were painted by itinerant *Kayastha* painters, under the patronage of the Jains or other wealthy nobility.

Side by side with the Sultanate scene the Gujarati manuscript illustrations in Western India and Rajasthan continued painting and illustrating mainly the *Vaisnava* subject matters. The spread of The *Bhakti cult* in the 16th century, especially in Rajasthan and Gujarat, provided ample opportunity for the growth of Krishna cult which revealed itself through the medium of poetry, dance, music and painting. Famous poetic works like the *Gita Govinda* by Jayadeva, the *Rasikapriya* by Keshavadas, the *Sur Sagar, Krishna Charitra* and others were profusely illustrated by the artists who put their *bhakti* (devotion) into their works. In short Krishna became the gospel of truth, and all arts revolved round that beloved blue God of Gokula. Towards the end of the 16th century the influence of contemporary Mughal costume was seen in the illustrated mss. of *Bala Gopala Stuti* and *Gita Govinda* folics. The sultanate style in short freed itself from the heiratic traditional mannerisms of the Western Indian style and brought about landscape and other trends into painting which served as the prototypes for the Rajasthan paintings.

When Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) came to the throne, a new chapter opens in the history of Indian painting. He put some painters in charge of the *Chitaro ka karkhana* a workshop of the royal atelier. They trained Indian artists in a new approach to painting. Very soon Indian and Persian traditions intermingled resulting in a full-fledged Mughal School. Under constant care and guided by interest in miniature art, the painters developed and showed a high degree of technical excellance. Its basic difference was the realistic approach to art in contrast with the earlier stylized paintings of the Jain mss. Contacts with European travellers and their sacred illustrated books influenced Mughal painters considerably, resulting in production of more realistic and three dimensional pictures. Akbar's secular views and interest in Persian literature and learning brought about both Persian and Hindu poetic works as well as Indian classics and epics under the brush of the Mughal painter. Apart from the monumental creation of the large-size paintings illustrating the *Hamza-Nama,* the exploits of the uncle of the Prophet Mohammed, other texts, poetic works and darbar scenes were painted by the royal atelier. The illustrations of the *Akbar-Nama, Babur-Nama* and the *Darab Nama* now preserved mostly in the U.K. speak of the high standard of the Mughal painting of the Akbar period. In the range of the early Akbari mss. the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, possesses an interesting ms. of *Anwari-Suhayli.* This new discovery exhibits a maximum number of birds and animals in their natural habitat of the tropical atmosphere which was hitherto unknown.

Akbar's son Jahangir (1605-1626) continued the tradition of miniature painting though his basic interest remained always in nature, in flora and fauna, and in portrature of unusual birds. The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Memories of Jahangir) is full of descriptions of wonderful birds and their acquisition, which were painted by his favourite painter Ustad Mansoor. Excellant flower studies and portraits reveal his keen interest in maintaining his atelier. In spite of his zeal and patronage there was a slow decline in the standard of art. Shahjehan, who built the famous Taj Mahal at Agra, was no less interested in the art of painting and book illustration. The trend of Mughal painting now shifted from nature to individual portraiture and darbar scenes mainly. The typical pastel green being used for background and the lavish use of gold and floral designs seen in painting and decorative arts of that period often reveals the contemporary workmanship in jade, crystal and ivory objects studded with precious stones and gold. The *Shahjehan Nama* of the Windsor Castle Library, England, is a known document of the royal library. However, there appears a kind of stiffness in the figures and formality which continued in the period of Shahjehan's successor. Though painting flourished in Aurangzeb's period on a large scale it shows signs of decline both thematically and technically. He also retrenched a number of painters from his atelier who sought patronage elsewhere.

In short painting in the later Mughal period, though interesting as a social record, showed declining taste as reflected in harem scenes, night scenes and scenes of the darbar and of hunting expeditions

37. Ganesh : Halebid

38. Laxman Cutting the nose of Shurpanakha : Illustration from the ms. of 'Arshya Ramayana'

of the Nawabs of Murshidabad, Lucknow, Patna and elsewhere. They hardly come within the realm of Serious art.

Along with the art activity of Northern India, the Deccani kingdoms like Vijayanagar, Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmednagar, Aurangabad, Hyderabad etc. also patronized miniature art. At least after the middle of the 16th century, Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golkonda became the centres of art. They had their indigenous tradition to follow and the contacts with the Turkish and Persian painters invited by the rulers helped them to establish new schools. Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1627) of Bijapur seems to have played the same role in the Deccan as Emperor Akbar in Northern India. In the 17th and 18th century, Deccani painting shows nearness to Mughal schools but, in the matter of colours, draughtsmanship, perspective and costume types it shows its own predilections. Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy in the twenties made the first discrimination between Mughal and Rajput painting, i.e. the Hindu and Muslim art, while subsequent researches in field developed the classification further due to availability of new material for study. Thus, the problem of the origin and development of Rajput-Rajasthani painting was tackled by various scholars. The Rajput group was further divided between Rajasthani schools and the Pahari schools of the Punjab hill states.

The term Rajasthani painting covers a much wider field. It not only encompasses the Rajasthani states of Mewar, Bundi, Kota, Bikaner, Marwar, Jaislmer, etc. but covers Malwa. Bundelkhand, and Gujarat also. By and large it is accepted now that the Rajasthani style has evolved out of the synthesis of Western Indian, Sultanate and Akbari schools of painting. It is also apparent that Mughal influence has played a major role in the development of Rajasthani schools. Yet there are two schools of thought with regard to the origin of Rajasthani style. One feels that the cultural heritage of Mewar was so great in the past that there must have been artist families residing there earlier than the Akbar period while the other school emphasises the overflow of artists at the Mughal courts at Delhi which may have resulted in migration of a few away from Delhi to other for employment. They must have started the Rajasthani school. Some may have sought patronage of the rich Jain merchants of Gujarat while some may have migrated to Malwa and central India.

The Rajasthani school in the 17th century assimilated certain Mughal characteristics but maintained its originality of theme and technique. The early Rajasthani artist believed in simplification of details and reduction of landscape to the minimum by use of symbolism and juxtaposition of different colours. He created his own perspective and evolved his own figures to suit his taste of bright colours. Here again the *Bhakti* cult of Vallabhacharya provided *Vaisnava* themes for the artists to paint in addition to the *Ragamala* sets and other romantic subjects.

According to modern research it is apparent that Mewar with its capital at Udaipur has been the pioneer in moulding the nature of future Rajasthani styles. The earliest known sets found in Mewar can go back to the late 16th century or early 17th century. During the middle of the 17th century a large body of paintings was discovered with dates and place names, as well as the artists' names. It was during the reign of Rana Jagat Singh (1628-52) that as many as seven *Kandas* of the *Arshya Ramayana* were painted at Udaipur and elsewhere by Sahabdin and Manohar, the two known court painters, who later on became the prominent painters of Udaipur. Out of these *Ramayana* Mss. only two remained in India while the remaining were presented to Col. Todd, by Maharana Bhim Singh of Mewar in 1818. A.D. These are subsequently preserved at the British Library, London. A part of the *Bala Kanda* of the *Ramayana* is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, while the *Yuddha Kanda* is at the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Udaipur. These sets are marked by their bold and attractive stylization, bright palette and compartmentalization. Rana Jagat Singh's successor, Raj Singh, also continued the tradition of painting and there are a number of sets preserved in the Government Museum, Udaipur.

At the turn of the century Mewar painting undergoes a change. With the growing impact of the contemporary Mughal mannerisms and customs because of relationship with the later Mughal rulers, the subject matter changes and more importance is given to court and outdoor scenes than to the mythological mss. During the reign of Sangram Singh II two major discoveries have been made recently. The ms. of *Sundar Shrinagar* was painted by Kaviraja Jagannath in 1726 A.D. and the *Sat of Bihari* in 1719 A.D. which are preserved in the Sarasvati Bhavan Library, Udaipur. Subsequent rulers of Mewar continued the artistic activity but were more interested in getting themselves pictured on various occasions. Painters painted imaginary hunting scenes in large sizes and presented them to the ruling *Rana* on sacred occasions to earn their living. A few painters were employed as court painters whose work, social status and genealogies have been worked out by the author in his thesis recently. A large number of names of artists practising only at Mewar have been unearthed through the inscriptions found on the back of such large paintings. This continues towards the 19th century when Mewar art becomes more or less ritualistic due to the migration of artists to the famous seat of *Shri Nathji* at Nathdwara, where they sold picture mementos to pilgrims.

Towards the beginning of the 17th century stray examples of painting sets were discovered in Bundi,

Marwar, Malwa, etc. The adjoining state of Bundi produced miniatures which are recognizable by the lush green vegetation and pink flesh tints with distinct Mughal influence. The Marwar artist of Jodhpur painted in his vibrant yellow and orange hues, the proud *Rathods* on horse backs with tall turbans and darbar scenes while the Malwa painters came into prominance through their bright enamel-like colours in paintings, the *Ragamalas* and other large sets like the *Amarushataka* illustrating the Sanskrit love poems of the poet Amaru.

At the same time we witness the emergence of various smaller schools in Rajasthan, such as Amber-Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Ajmer, Kishengarh, Bikaner and also certain feudatory states (the *thikanas)* which produced peculiar paintings of their own style. Research has brought out many interesting facts about these smaller but important centres of painting. While the great days of Rajasthani art were over, there arose in Jammu, -and lateron in the hilly regions of Kangra, other schools of painting with a new outlook. The art of Basohli with a frank archaic appeal and brilliant colours having bold ethnic types with large eyes added a new chapter to the history of Indian art. It is not clear as to what were the influences that created the school of Basohli. It is apparent that the Rajasthani painting of the mid-17th century has something to do with the origin on one hand while the Nepali schools also may have exercised a certain influence in its development.

In the pre-Kangra phase we have references to refugee artists from the plains migrating to Kangra after the sack of Delhi in 1739 A.D. Raja Chamand Chand of Kangra was a patron of art who had maintained an atelier of painters. By and large the Pahari style of the Sansar Chand period is characterised by a marked Mughal influence of the 18th century. Delicacy of line and form, elegant female figures, well-rounded facial types and the surrounding of a lyrical hilly landscape is the speciality of Kangra painting.

The school soon spread to other centres like Chamba, Guler, Mandi, Nurpur, Mankot and many other smaller states. Each school produced pictures of aesthetic interest like the *Ragamalas,* the *Ramayana,* and the *Bhagavata purana.*

The beauty of this school of painting lies in its flowing draughtsmanship, lyrical themes, peaceful land-scapes with green undulating mounds, smiling fields, meadows and refined technique which is not to be found in any other school of painting.

1. Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, New Documents of Indian Painting (a reappraisal), Bombay 1969.

39. Naika in Garden : Rajasthani Style

VISUAL ARTS
ORIGIN IN ANCIENT CULTURE
SAMBHAJI KADAM

King and Queen
Miniature : Mugal Style

40

41

Black buck
and the Doe
Mugal Style

Visual Arts : Origin in Ancient Culture

Sambhaji Kadam

After the Second World War scholars have realised the fact of common origins of various cultures developing into specific identities. While considering the distinctive Indian attitude towards life, art and the universe, it will not be enough to focus our attention on the course of events restricted to the present Indian sub-continent and occupying the past few milleniums. We have to take a geographically more expansive view and also extend our consideration to the past several milleniums. This alone will yield a proper perspective of the complexities of the problem in hand.

In its turn this also means that the distinctive identities of our present cultures as they have sharpened over the passage of time compel us to reduce the scope of the panorama of the Indian heritage and recognise its separateness from the common, ancient, origins. The Indian heritage claims a unique history of assimilation of complex forces ranging from the primeval to the modern. This process still continues with every stage of our cultural and material development. This passion for assimilation is consistent with our declared secularism as also with our age-old desire to maintain harmony with a cosmic awareness.

In the beginning of this century scholars were faced with the vexing problem of establishing a possible link between the absence of idol worship among the Aryans and the idol worship which was at the centre of Brahmanical culture. Till recently scholars had not understood the complex nature of primitive life evolving over centuries into distinctive identities and continuing to maintain a primitive residue. At one time a great distance was sought to be established between the period of the Vedic Aryans and the times of Mohenjodaro. The possibilities of interaction and assimilation among various layers of societies existing during the same period were not properly recognised. Recent findings and the attempts to decipher the Mohenjodaro script have combined to establish a strong link between Vedic culture and the Mohenjodaro civilization. The very fact that, except for the spoken word perpetuated through recitation, the Vedic Aryans have left no trace of any material civilization suggests the comparatively primitive stage of antiquity of their culture; but we have enough evidence that the dawn of a maturer civilization was near even then.

As we progress from the primitive to elementary

concepts of a society, the notion of sharing gains prominence. An attempt towards formulating this involves some common principles embracing not only the life of human beings but also that around the universe. The Indian mind has come to recognise in this context the idea of *atman,* i.e., the immortal soul or the cosmic force of life. This cosmic energy conscious of itself works through the manifest world. Recognition of the soul as cosmic energy is a particular contribution of Vedic culture. The Vedic Aryans replaced the primitive deities of idol worshippers with those involving natural and universal principles, e.g., Agni, Varuna, Vayu.

This, in fact, was a scientifically inquisitive mind working at the level of fantasy while observing nature minutely. The Vedic Aryans, in contrast to primitive man, discovered principle of orderliness in the functioning of nature. The recurrence of day and night, the cycle of the year's seasons, the cycle of birth, life and death — all these were manifestations of the order or *rita* which they found in the universe. Man's physical existence was itself bound by this universal *rita.* Ultimately, the Vedic Aryan began to realise that cosmic energy expressed itself consistently through man's body, through the social mechanism and the objective world of animate and inanimate phenomena. It was this thinking which ultimately paved the way for idol worship by the Aryans. The cosmic entity, called *Vishwa Purusha,* featured prominently in the *yajna* ritual of the Aryans.

As the Vedic Aryans have not preserved any trace of a material civilisation, we cannot speak of their painting or sculpture or architecture. The rock sculpture and sanctuaries carved by the Buddhists in later centuries do not trace any origins to the Vedic period. However, accounts of *yajnas* indicate the existence of imposing wooden structures. Belonging to a later period, Chandragupta Maurya's capital, Pataliputra, was a triumph of wooden architecture as vouched for by Megasthenes. This glory must have had its beginnings in the earlier Vedic period.

The oldest rock carving and balustrades from the Sanchi stupa and the Karla caves approximate the look of a wooden structure although in stone. The very terms *chitra* and *shilpa* in Sanskrit mean magic. This connotation can be traced back to primitive stages of development. The Sanskrit word for "chiselling" and the Greek word for "art" are similar, and this suggests the predominance of wood carving in the early centuries.

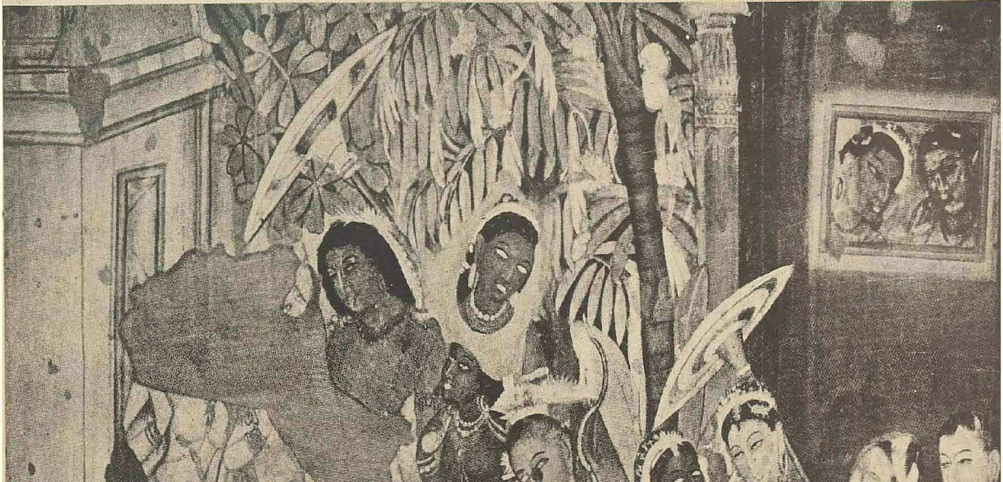
Tarkateertha Laxmanshastri Joshi has pertinently drawn attention to the contemporary practice of offering *ahutis* of birds and animals in the form of their pictures when the original were not available. Painting or sculpture was thus closely allied to ritual. The non-believers in the *yajna* would participate in he entertainment programme encompassed by the long span of the *yajna.* This would include story-telling, drama, music, etc. The development of this primitive story-telling into the Puranas must have formed the crux of Vedic literature.

The Aryans were herdsmen gradually settling down as agriculturists. It is quite possible that the Sankhya belief in the "mother goddess" cult, which was originally the primitive fertility cult eventually given an agricultural orientation, was later accepted as to complete the duality of *Purusha* and *Prakriti* in later times. So also, the snake worship ensues from an agricultural civilisation. It is directly related to the soil in which the snake lies in the shape of a coil, a sub-conscious state of vitality in the womb of mother earth. The Tantric cults, which were very much closer to the primitive mode of thinking and feeling, have carefully retained all these associations of primitive origin while developing into a Hindu mode of spiritual philosophy.

The primitive notion of "mother goddess", functioning, through *Prakriti,* has not lost its hold even through Vedic influences. She is then accepted as *Maya.* Capturing the rapture of the cosmic duality, where the abstract idea (*Purusha*) falls in love with Maya (*Prakriti*), promotes the blissful state of *nirdvandva* and sums up the essence of philosophical propriety as accepted on the Indian sub-continent. Thus the primeval vitality, becoming conscious of its own negative and positive aspects in the process of growth, has been manifested in our thinking in the form of a rhythmic phenomenon coherent with universal vitality. Such a rhythm resounding through line, colour, form and space is the distinctive characteristic of Indian art.

The residues of primitive life and art have been discovered, and are still being discovered, in various parts of India. Our Adivasis still live on a primitive level. They have not given up the artistic expression absorbed in their primitive mode of living. This will happen only when they are urbanised. The primitives in India are in various stages of transformation and, therefore, they have developed some distinctive folk art styles, e.g., Warli art, Madhubani. These basically abstract expressions have considerably inspired the artists of our modern period. Jamini Roy is one of them.

There is no doubt that a fundamental rhythmic principle is evident in all primitive styles, albeit in a crude form. However, the vitality of these primitives is diminishing under pressures of urbanised living. A glance at the art of the most ancient primitives, such as the naturalists of the Franco-Cantabrian group, shows us how progress towards civilisation has gradually depleted the vitality of the primitive artists. Civilisation has brought in its wake a sophistication in artistic expression, with the result that the primitive bull or rhino emitting immense power through its



42. A Palace Scene from Ajanta Cave Temple

43. Gauri Ragini

line and form is far more vivid and animal-like than the bull from Ajanta whom Buddhist empathy has completely humanized.

The seals from Mohenjodaro offer us a panoramic view of the transformation from primitivism to agriculture. The energy originally imbibed by the Franco-Cantabrian line embracing the rhino or the bison is now consciously controlled through an equally powerful line. This emerges into a crystallised rhythm dictated by perfect awareness of the space within which it is organised. The use of a picture frame may be called symbolic of the social discpline which man was now imposing on himself in complete contrast with the freedom of space and action enjoyed by primitive man whether in hunting or painting. The seals of Mohenjodaro or the art of the Sumerians offers an early indication of awareness of organised space. This insight is something new for the human race. Organisation of various forms in space into a composite whole within a frame is the contribution of the stabilised cultures that came after the primitive ones. This sense of space organisation enabling the artist to create a ritual of particular forms and establishing a contemplative rhythm has been at the centre of Indian art.

There is much evidence available to show that folk art styles continued to prevail even after the period of Mohenjodaro. Mohenjodaro itself shows two disatinctive modes. One of them is that of pictorial relief, while the other comprises three-dimensional sculpture especially limestone. The bronze dancer showing kinship with folk expression is well-known. For some time after Mohenjodaro there is no evidence of urbanised styles either in stone or in terracotta. The male torso in limestone from Harappa, the bull on the capital in polished limestones from Rampurva in the Maurya period —these convey and anatomical perfection which is beyond mere anatomical grace. This indicates a continuity of artistic evolution from Mohenjodaro-Harappa to the Maurya period, linking examples of which must have been destroyed in the course of time.

There are many influences of Hellenistic realism on the sculpture of the Mauryas. This was not only the conqueror Alexander's hand showing. There must have been an exchange of ideas and influences through genuine mutual communication. It is not only the influence of the Greeks which can be counted in the work of the Gandhara school. If one observes the folds of the drapery in the sculpted figures of the times, the influence of the Greeks is not total. The linear flow of the folds which is integrated with the total stance of the sculpture is absent in the Greek. Historians, awed by the perfection of anatomy seen in Western art, had at first failed to appreciate the ideation of form achieved by the Indian mind by transcending the anatomically naturalistic style and thus trying to express a typically spiritual Indian content. Even Dr. Ananda Coomarswamy found himself adopting a defensive role vis-a-vis European realism, a position negated by modern discoveries, contrasts and parallelisms between East and West.

The rhythmic intensity of the flowing lines in the entire space, either in a relief or a rounded sculpture, is a purely Indian contribution. Besides, the Indian norms of the half-closed and lotuslike eyes, the poise of the poses in *samabhanga, abhanga* or *tribhanga*, so also the *mudras* of the hand conveying certain symbolic meanings — these are all original formulations of the Indian mind. The carvings from the gateway of the Sanchi stupa and from the Karla caves, belonging to the first century B.C., pronounce such an indigenous identity. So do the sculptural reliefs from the ballustrades at Bharhut, the medallion depicting the Jataka story belonging to the second century B.C. and the sculptures from the Bhaje caves near Pune dating from the first century B.C. These works indicate a movement away from common origins and towards folk expression inspired by the Buddhist attitude of gathering into its fold all human beings, especially the common, down-trodden, men from the lower strata of society. The higher class of nobels from Brahmanical culture had deprived this common man of sympathetic treatment.

Buddha preached to the common man a humanitarian religion based on the simple ethics of *Karuna* The intellectual focus on the concept of *atman* in the Vedic mode of thinking originally emerging as a means to sharing was, in the Buddha's teaching, shifted to the emotional pull of sympathy designed to achieve the same purpose. All the religious faiths, castes and tribes were thus brought together under the concept of *Karuna*. Thus, Buddhism in India was not a secluded religious faith as it is misunderstood to be. Nor did it fall a prey to ritualistic religious practices. Even Dr. Ambedkar could not discover any basis for such practices in the Buddhist texts for his newly converted followers to adopt. He, therefore, reached the firm conclusion that the Buddha's way was clearly a *yana* or vehicle designed to achieve human harmony through the means of *Karuna* or sympathy.

The triumph of Indian art begins thus with Buddhism, with the Jataka stories breathing the spirit of human sympathy and the *Bodhisattva* as the central figure. This is how we usually see crowds of people carved on the ballustrades of the stupas and the gateway of the Sanchi stupa and also painted on the walls of Ajanta in later times. The delineation of particular figures here is not so important as the vitality of the linear movement on the panels. The artist's emotional impulse is in tune with the Buddha's stress of one man's feeling for another. In Buddhist art

there is a spirited freedom of arrangement quite different from the intellectualised framing of form and space evident in the art of the Gupta period. This is somewhat akin to the primitive man's total merging with nature and the resultant dynamism of the naive linear movement of the groups of hunters or animals he enshrined on cave walls.

Scholars tend to under-estimate the sculptural contribution of Ajanta. This can be defended only if we disregard the artistic force of a great sculpture seen in cave no. 26. In huge dimensions, the artist has captured the oceanic depth of sorrow conveyed by the theme of the Buddha's *Mahanirvana*. The light coming through the entrance from the left, plays on the broken masses of light and shade falling through the row of lamenting figures on the horizontal band below. Here another, smaller, figure of the Buddha is shown with its back towards the viewer — in fact, towards the world. The Gandharvas at the top rejoicing in the entry of a great soul into their world; the huge figure of the Buddha promoting a feeling of the infinite; and the lamentation of the world below — all this makes up a monumental achievement which exudes a uniquely sublime quality.

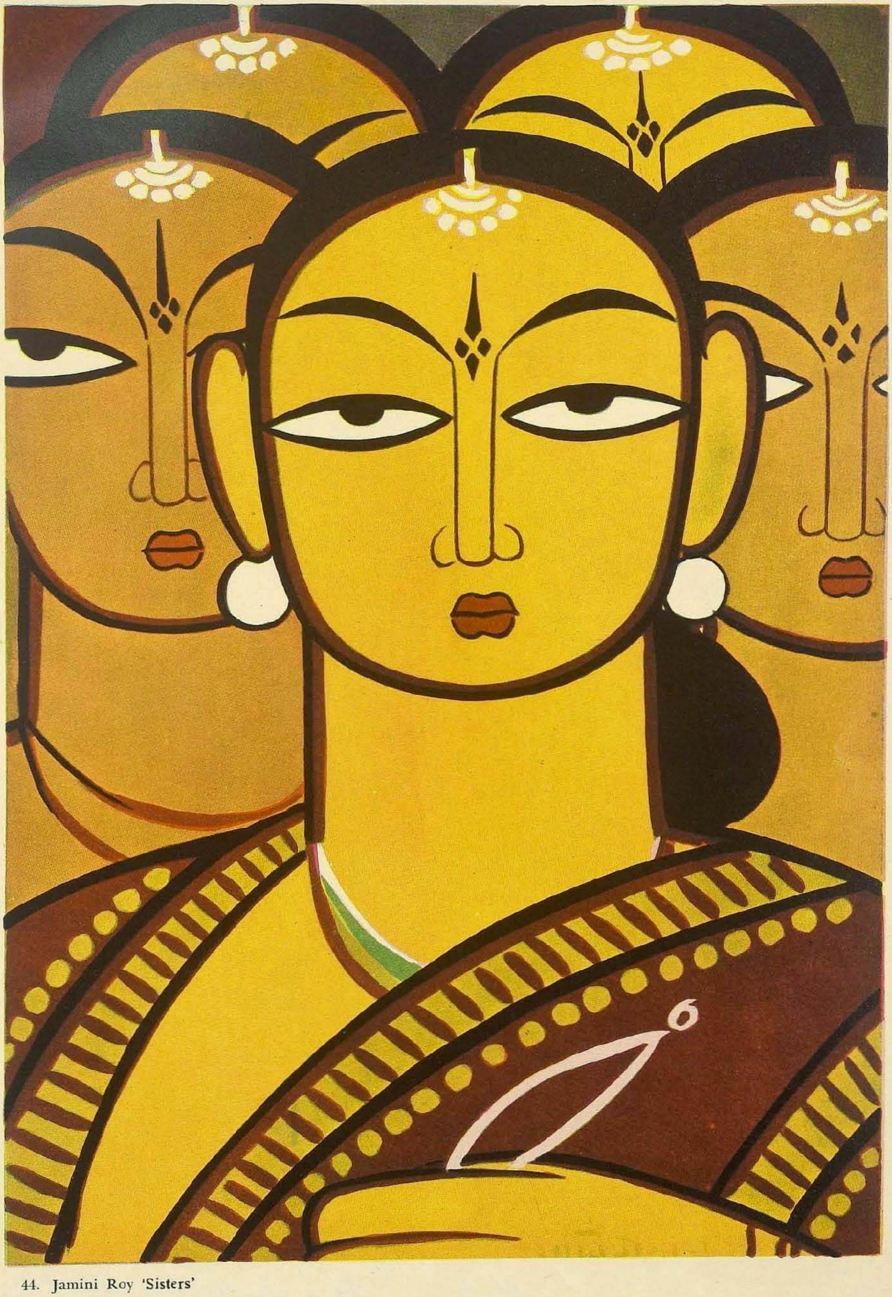
The Gupta epoch charged the Indian mind with an insight into massive form and gave rise to a new stage of monumental expression. The *Varaha Avatara* from Udaygiri projects a feeling of power through the erect figure of the *Varaha* contrasted with the tiny figures of the *Devas*. The development of the Ellora rock temple project is a step further. Here the entire rock has been cut to make for a colony of monuments. The artist, moving away from the compulsions of patronage, tries to visualise something of his own and give shape to it in the sculptural medium. As breathtaking an achievement as the Kailas temple at Ellora, Elephanta near Bombay and the *Gangavataran* at Mallapuram in the south-east, all three are roughly products of the same period.

Round about the ninth century, the cult of Shankaracharya overtook Buddhism in this country. The strong points in the latter philosophy were necessarily accepted by Shankara and were, indeed, skilfully woven into his own. The Mahayana cult of Buddhism had already started flourishing hand in hand with Hinduism. There was a fusion of the two at a primitive level still existing in contemporary society, and this in turn gave rise to Tantric cults based on the *Purusha-Prakriti* concept. The Tantric cult refurbished the primitive mode of phallic worship. It was only recently that edifices similar to the Buddhist sanctuaries and belonging to Tantric cults were discovered. The explorations in this regard being conducted at Panhale Kaji near Dapoli in Maharashtra's Ratnagiri district are still continuing but a link between Mahayana Buddhism and the later Bhakti cult is likely to be established. The very shape of the site, with a hillock situated in the middle of a flowing river, may be called symbolic of a *lingam-yoni* juxtaposition. The Panhale Kaji Tantric cult could have been a connecting avenue for the Mahayana cult with its rock-cut sanctuaries on the one hand and the rising tide of *Madhura Bhakti* (again, a new form of the "Prakriti-Purusha" concept). Jayadeva's poetry is a salient example of *Madhura Bhakti*. It forms the backbone of Odissi dance, and the latter from derives its movements from the sculptures of Konaraka.

The eroticism prevailing in temple sculpture of this period, including that of Konarak and Khajuraho, emerges from the Tantric cult. However, the erotic is only the outer cover. The juxtaposition of the male and the female figures in an atmosphere of ecastasy ultimately leads to a spiritual revelation. The sensuousness of the female figure represents the earthly, concrete, principle of living. The male, the *Purusha*, represents a contrary pull, the abstract principle of cosmic energy. The *Purusha* is prompted by the urge to visualise himself in the concrete form through a manifest commingling with the female *Prakriti*. It is this metaphysical movement which culminated in the concept of *Moksha*, of liberation of the soul and its merging with the vast entity of cosmic energy. The art and architecture produced during the Tantric epoch have explored and defined these ideas in visual form. An intricate canon of style was evolved and it paralleled the march of Indian metaphysics in the years before the Muslim invasions of medieval times.

The iconoclastic aggressiveness of the Muslim invaders adversely affected the sway of idol worship. However, literature as an offshoot of art and architecture flourished, and devotional poetry encouraged the aesthetics of the times to promote Bhakti as a *rasa* in edition to the eight *rasas* devised by Bharata. Abhinavagupta had already pleaded in the 10th century for *Shanta rasa*. That became the basis for *Bhakti*. Music also flourished through the *Bhakti rasa*. In spite of the influence of Persian music, brought here by Amir Khusru under the patronage of Allauddin Khilji, Indian musicians including Muslims of the old guard accepted *Bhakti* as a prometer of musical expression. *Madhura Bhakti*, with Radha and Krishna representing the male-female or positive-negative bi-polarism, had already developed alongside the Tantric cult. Painting and sculpture as also probably music became integrated with Tantric rituals. The new cult of *Madhura Bhakti* achieved a confluence of the visual arts and music. Krishna became the centre of painting as well as music.

Simultaneously the folk styles of painting were attaining a new prestige by becoming an integral part of religious and poetic manuscripts. The Jain style of miniature painting is a striking example of folk style assuming classical monumentality. With the



44. Jamini Roy 'Sisters'

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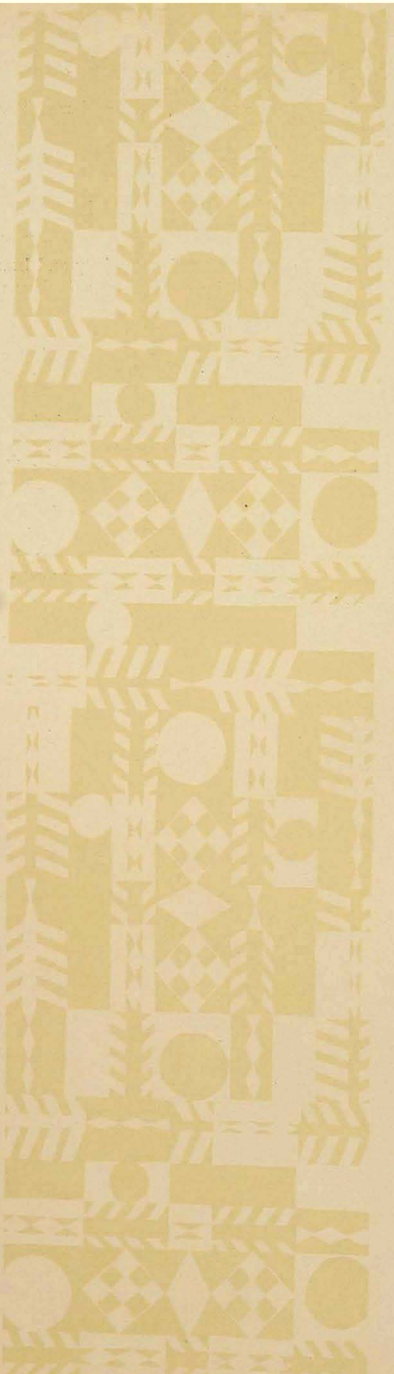
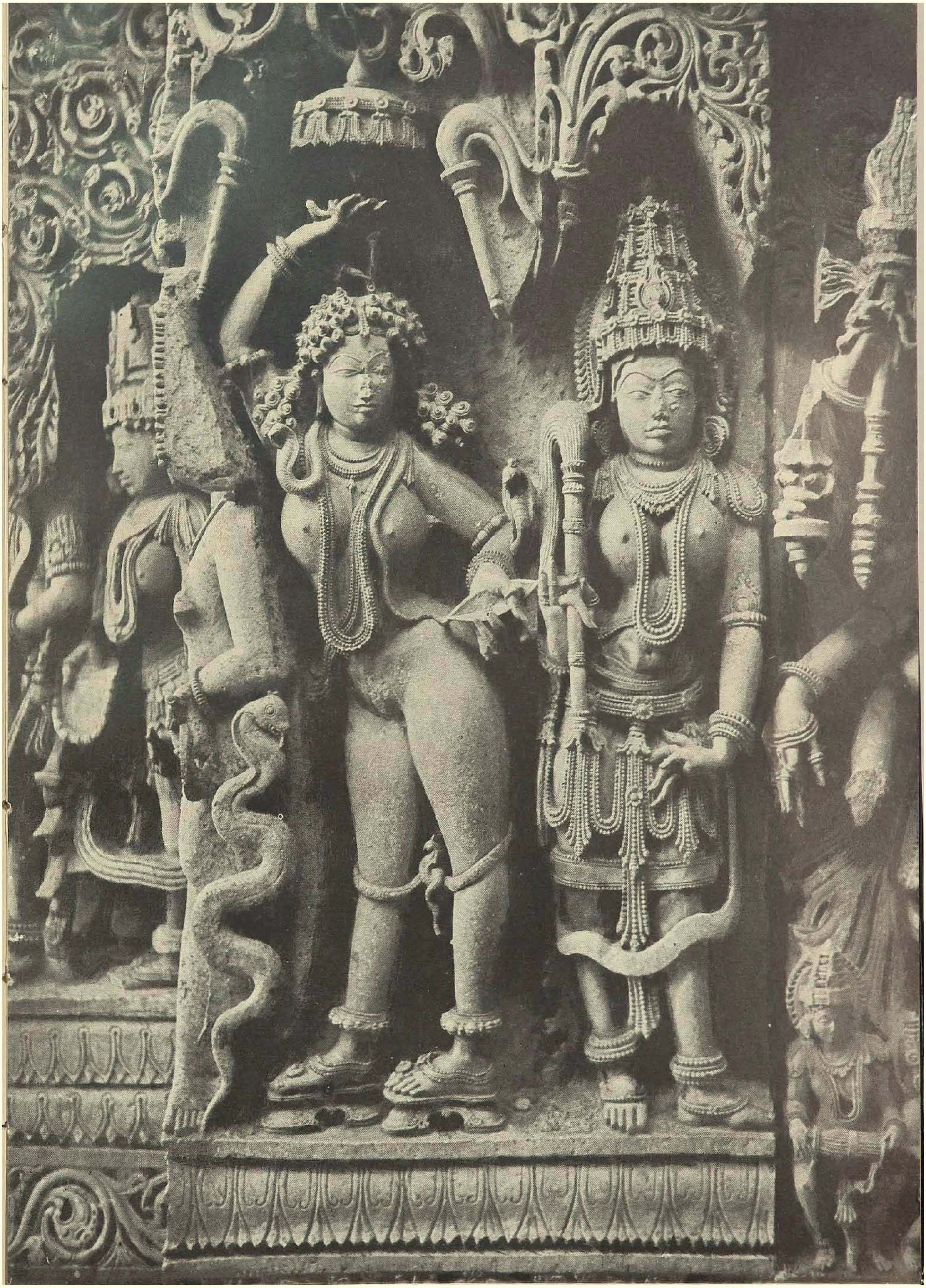
confluence of folk and Persian elements, there emerged in the north such schools of miniature painting as Rajasthani, Rajput, Mughal, Kangra, Garhwal and Kishengarh. In the heyday of the Mughal Empire, with its urge to harmonize with Indian culture, a new style of painting endowed with Persian characteristics and Indian rhythmic grace grew with a profoundness and feeling of stability. The patronage of the Mughal court, like the ways of the high and mighty, spread their influence on the life style of well-to-do Hindus as also their artistic expression.

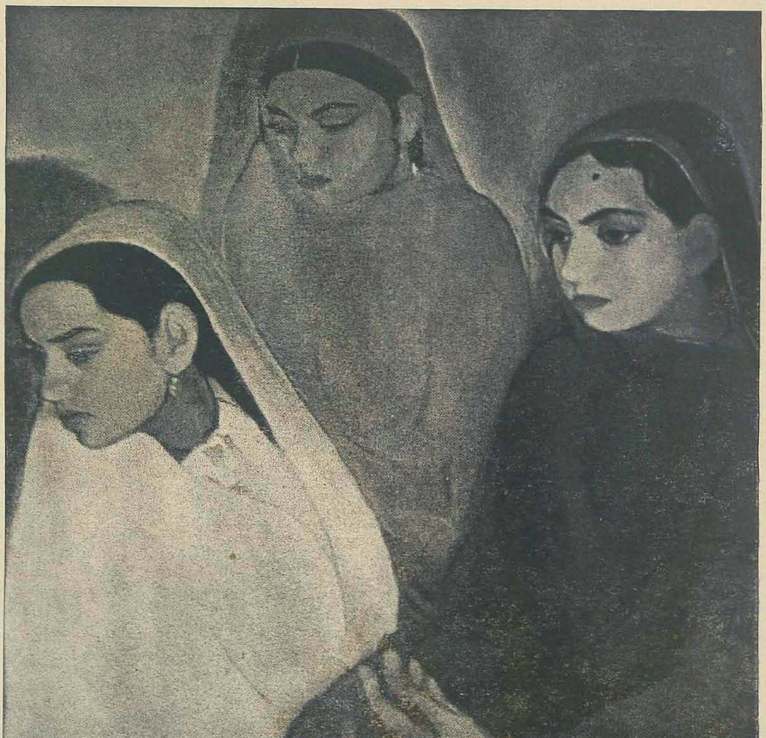
The distinct identities of these miniature styles were influenced by the environment of the States in which they grew. The Jain style claims a richness of colour and a naivety of flowing line. The details of the human figure as also the foliage have not only a descriptive function but also feature as part of the total design. They are symbolic in the same way as folk painting. The Rajput and other northern styles under Persian influence becomes more descriptive especially while depicting nature. They developed hand in hand with the linear content that was to be expressed through them. Apparently they attempted to expressed even musical imagery on the basis of images of *ragas* primarily conceived by poets having a fondness for music.

The patrons of the Kishengarh school appear to have been exceptionally sensitive. With their poetic insight they could inspire the miniature artist to visualise unique experience in their work. The head of the state, himself a notable poet, identified himself with Krishna and his mistress Bani Thani with Radha, so that the artist's visualisation invested the images with unique majesty and beauty. The feeling of sublimity exdued by the colour which surrounds the human figure is one of the miniaturists' climactic achievements. The two-dimensional treatment in this style attains a power to rivet our attention on the central imagery. The abstract principle of *Bhakti* or universal love is concretised by the Kishengarh artist through the earthly principle of the feminine quality. The illumination of the frame of the painting through the moods of nature, achieved by him, is but a kind of nature worship evolved by the original Aryan man. The feminine principle of beauty worshipped in the *Madhura Bhakti* cult, whether by the miniature artist or the poet, is but a reflection of the abstract notion of God in the concrete worldly Form.





47. Illustration from the ms. of 'Harivamsha'



48. 'Three Women': Amrita Sher-Gil

VISUAL ARTS A CONTEMPORARY VIEW

DNYANESHWAR NADKARNI

49. Toilet
49. N. S. Bendre
50. 'She'
Rabindranath Tagore
51. Portrait of 'Dasi'
Bikash Bhattacharya

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Visual Arts: A Contemporary View

Dnyaneshwar Nadkarni

Whatever be the indigenous styles of painting and sculpture prevailing in this country before the advent of the British, when our new rulers inaugurated art education facilities in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta more than a century ago, it was but natural that they should bring their own influences with them. In England itself art education had been heavily academic even in times when painters like Turner and Constable were trying to achieve a breakthrough. Because we were a colony of a European power, methods and influences invariably reached us late. In our art schools academism held sway right up to the beginning of the Second World War. Whether what was taught was totally decadent or had certain redeeming features need not be discussed here. What is worth noting is that the revolt of modern Indian art, when it came after the war, was a revolt against educational academism as much as it was against the ruling popular manner.

A few years before Independence, the Progressive Artists Group and the Calcutta Group came into being. A few national figures had already moved away from academism : Amrita Sher-Gil, Jamini Roy and George Keyt. To these may be added the name of Rabindranath Tagore, who had charted his own path away from the Bengal school. The Progressives, led by Francis Newton Souza and S. H. Raza, and the Calcutta Group, including Nirode Mazumdar and Paritosh Sen, had been more deeply influenced by modern movements in Europe than any of these forerunners had been. Sher-Gil had achieved a sensitive blend of Gauguin's manner and the miniaturist's picture-frame prettiness; Jamini Roy had revitalised the style and technique of Kalighat *pata* painters and other folk artists; George Keyt had effected a confrontation between Picasso's cubism and the Krishna-Radha tradition of the miniature schools, Tagore had produced an Expressionist idiom of his own, lugubrious and moody. The two groups, based in Bombay and Calcutta, owed nothing to these predecessors, and even their allegiance to 20th century European art was watchful, if not sceptical.

Ultimately, quite a few of the Progressives migrated to London and Paris. Led by Souza and Raza, a regular exodus started; but not all painters settled

down. At this period, we see in their work a new vigorousness of the palette and a non-conformist attitude towards the pictorial content of the canvas. Both in Bombay and Calcutta, a version of Expressionism prevails; the work impassioned and highly personal. As in the literature of the times (but without any awareness of it), the imagery is bold and irreverant. After Souza and Raza, a marginally junior generation follows the lead and this includes Gaitonde, Akbar Padamsee, Krishen Khanna and Tyeb Mehta.

A few painters stand apart. Ara and Husain, for example, cannot be bracketed with their more sophisticated colleagues. Ara restricts himself to charming vases and flowers, later to rugged nudes. Husain gets the credit of evolving the fully indigenous human figure. For this purpose he struck rapport with the rural and working masses and developed a style which took off from his early struggling days of poster painting.

In the late forties and early fifties there was a tremendous upsurge in Indian art the like of which has not been experienced in recent years. In the field of sculpture, men like Karmarkar in Maharashtra and Devi Prasad Roy-Chowdhury had tried earnestly to transcend the limitations of academic naturalism. Later came experimentalists of the calibre of Prodosh Das Gupta and Sankho Chowdhury, both of them deeply influenced by modern European sculpture. Ramkinkar Baij of Shanti Niketan and Dhanraj Bhagat were two other senior sculptors who cast away the dictates of academism and made meaningful experiments with diverse materials.

Among painters who had preceded the revolting Progressives there were practising artists and teachers like Hebbar and Bendre. By temperament they were more cool and collected than their volatile juniors. While Hebbar acknowledges the debt of art school discipline, Bendre became a salutary influence as dean of the Baroda fine arts faculty. This faculty generated a fairly significant modernistic movement in the sixties. G. R. Santosh, Gulam Sheikh, Laxma Goud, Ramesh Pateria, Balbir Katt — many are the painters and sculptors who have flowered out in Baroda and brought a new vigour to contemporary Indian art. Painters like Bhupen Khakhar, Gieve Patel and Vivan Sundaram have also communed with the life of the faculty, and their art shows not only an independence of attitude but also a unique awareness of the socio-economic and political developments of our times.

The Baroda fine arts faculty, with teachers like the perceptive scholar-artist K. G. Subramanyan, acted as a gingering up force in the Indian art of the past two or three decades. After the disintegration of the Progressives and the Calcutta Group, there was no group claiming an ideological platform. The Delhi painter J. Swaminathan stirred up controversies in one capacity or another, and several noted artists contributed to the national scene by the very fact of their residence in Delhi. Ram Kumar achieved an eloquent abstractionist extension of landscape. Shanti Dave, a Baroda product, displayed immense versatility, especially in graphics. Slightly younger artists like A. Ramchandran, Paramjit Singh and Himmat Shah have already achieved an unsullied reputation in painting and sculpture.

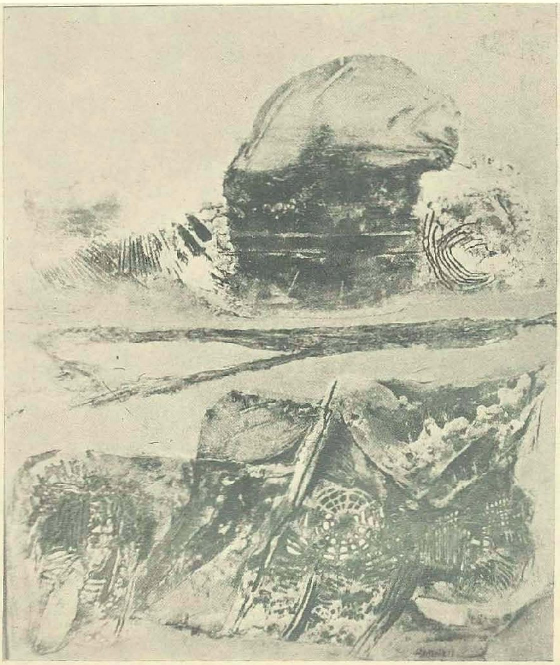
Although the proliferation of art institutions and of organisations like the Lalit Kala Akademi (National Academy of Art) has promoted politicking to some extent, the atmosphere in the country on the whole provides better creative ground to young talent than before. Quite a few states provide incentives to artists in one way or the other. Although surviving through sales alone is still a questionable proposition, there is a wider exchange of views among artists and also greater exposure to other artistic disciplines such as music, theatre and cinema.

There has been one notable experiment in recent years in the matter of artists living together as a community. K.C.S. Paniker, doyen of painters some four decades ago and principal of the Madras Art College, founded a colony of artists on the Cholamandal beach near Madras. The idea was that artists should spend part of their time on a vocation which would combine art with commerce, e.g., Batik painting or beaten metal work. Quite a few painters and sculptors joined the colony, and the experiment appears to have come off. S. G. Vasudev paints as well as works in aluminium relief. His wife Arnawaz works at Batik painting and is also in close touch with other handicrafts. Cholamandal has produced a number of painters but most of them are heavily influenced by the mythology-oriented, indigenous, imagery which Paniker himself was trying to promote.

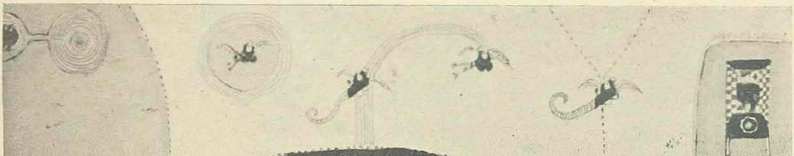
Another avenue which provides some feeling of being economically settled to creative artists is a job in the Weavers' Design Centres spread all over the country. Painters such as Ambadas and Sunil Das were once employees of the centre, while today we have Gautam Waghela, Barve, Adivrekar and others pursuing their painting with the security of a job at the centre. Similar has been the position of the young Delhi artists Manu Parekh and S. Bhusan. Whether this arrangement does more credit to the designing discipline or the urge of the artist to protect his soul is a question we need not go into.

What are the ideological issues which have exercised the minds of Indian artist over the past four decades? In the days of the Progressives it was not only a deep dissatisfaction with classroom realism but also with the traditional content of painting that stirred the artist. Souza, the first angry young man (when the phrase had not been heard of) of Indian painting, portrayed the dregs of society on his

52. 'Haut de Cagnes' (1951), S. H. Raza



53. 'Painting', G. S. Adivrekar



54. 'Pleasure Fountain' : Collage — Prabhakar Barve

55. 'Musician'
M. F. Hussein

56. 'Abstract Approach'
B. Ramkinkar

troubled canvases. A wilfully crude palette was the hallmark of Souza; but, like Husain's, it was full of vigour and colour. Round about the time India became independent, the young artist was deeply concerned with the plight of the toiling masses and the backwardness of the rural millions. The anguish felt by the painter is reflected in the paintings of Souza and Husain.

Socio-political consciousness of a sophisticated type, with one's affinity for cult figures like Che Guevara, comes into play in the canvases of Krishen Khanna. The entire march of history is projected in these paintings so that we have echoes of Hitler's era, of the Fascists and then of all the reactionary regimes in Latin America. But Khanna, too, finds it easy to make that sublime transition to the times of the arch rebel and martyr, to the times of Jesus Christ, from the canvases about a crucified Che Guevara. In a different manner, this same consciousness is reflected in the satirical paintings of Vivan Sundaram and Gieve Patel. Add to these the young painter Sudhir Patwardhan, who has made his debut recently with strong projections of oppressed humanity.

But to be aware of the socio-political currents and cross-currents of one's times need not be the only motivation of an artist. But before we go into the work of the formalists, it is worth remembering that a sort of surrealism also operates in the work of a socio-politically motivated painter. The brightest example of this phenomenon is Bikash Bhattacharjee, who has moved away from a pure surrealism to topical comment of the most trenchant sort. What is admirable about these satirical artists is that they are still pure painters and not affected by the mannerisms of cartoonists and caricaturists.

A leading painter like Gaitonde works within an atmosphere which is self-contained and claims a relationship only with the world of painting. His choice of colours, his manipulation of paint, his organisation of a fairly big canvas — all these have no reference to a recognisable objective world. The effect is very much like the delineation of an Indian *raga* before the vocalist starts uttering recognisable words. (And our experience normally is that we do not pay any attention to those words.) Over the years, Gaitonde has evolved from traditional abstraction to a class of pure painting which overpowers the viewer by its very existence.

A painter like Gaitonde raises the very tricky problem : How much "Indianness" can we claim for our painting? Also, is "Indianness" an authentic aesthetic value? It is extremely difficult to detect a sort of national identity in the work of many painters, especially of those who do not provide a clue through imagery. And yet, the work of a Japanese artist, even if he has been long working in the U.S., has an unmistakable Japanese touch about it. The work of our finest non-representational painters (e.g., Gaitonde, Ramkumar) does have this so-called Indianness; but it is likely that we are not sensitive to all those features of mind and material in which Indianness is manifest. Even knowledgeable critics can be misled on this ground and we know that top awards of our Triennales have gone to works possessing a fake Indianness.

Western myth as well as western style have influenced sculptors like the late Adi Davierwala and Pilloo Pochkhanawala. But both have been able to visualise in metal some of the key Indian myths. For example, Davierwala has worked successfully on such concepts as "Meghdoot" and "Suryadev". Pilloo's recent work shows a sweeping universal consciousness which chooses themes related to the cosmos and works them out in convincing visual terms.

Sculpture has remained the step-sister of painting in this country. Its relatively high cost deters bright young talents from going ahead with ambitious schemes. Some years ago, a Sculptors' Forum was formed here and it started with an impressive showing of sculptures by young artists. While the Forum appears to be defunct at the moment, we have some expressive marble carvers coming from Gwalior and Varanasi. These, like Robin David and Dilip Mishra, have already diverted attention from seniors like Pateria and Katt, who used to work in imposingly big sizes. This explosion of marble sculpture is a sudden and surprising phenomenon, and the art world does not seem to have taken note of it. Public patronage of marble carving, as indeed of other forms of sculpture, still remains scanty.

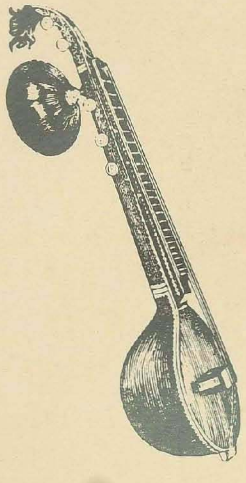
Speaking of costs, a movement which tried to find an answer to the oppressive cost of painting (for both the painter and the buyer) was the one launched some years ago by Vivan Sundaram in the form of graphics workshops. There is no doubt that, over the past few years, there has been a graphics explosion in the country. The movement is yet to be properly channelled but several young artists, trained either at Baroda or at Shanti Niketan (under the well-known Somnath Hore), have been turning out graphics of immense beauty and technical versatility during the past few years. This, too, is a development which has not impinged on the consciousness of the art world. But graphics form such a self-sustained section of contemporary art product that one is justified in saying that they reflect trends in contemporary Indian art.

There are far too many painters worth talking about in this country today to be conveniently mentioned within the brief span of an introductory article. Because of the various international exhibitions seen

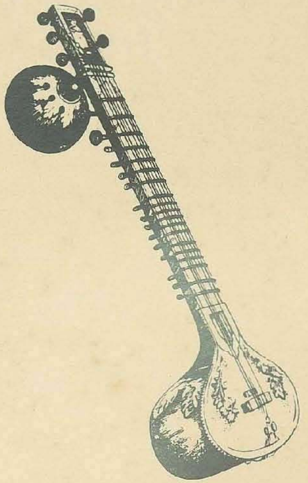
in New Delhi, and because of the opportunity provided to see world art during the successive Triennales, the winds of world art blow more actively through this country than ever before. Several Indian artists are becoming conscious of the need to project Indian art abroad. Such a consciousness may amount to so much self-consciousness. But considering that the Governments of India and of the U.K. are preparing for a Festival of Indian Arts to begin in London in March 1982, such concern on the part of Indian artists may be considered quite genuine. After all, being pitted with the best in the world will not do any harm to our art. And although, international events of this sort may be accompanied by their share of politicking, the awareness that we are going to stand exposure in a major international forum soon is bound to make us more alert and — let us hope — more objective.

SANGEET: TRADITONS OF INDIAN MUSIC
ASHOK RANADE

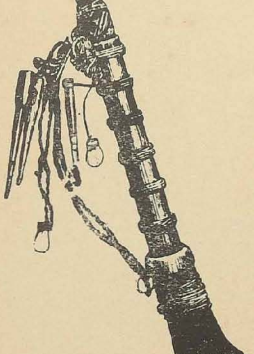
57. 'Lady with Damru'



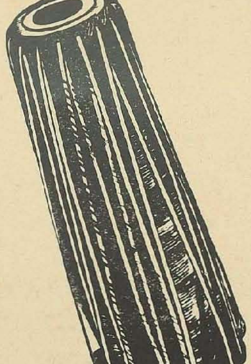
58. Saraswati Veena



59. Sitar



60. Shehnai



61. Pakhawaj

Sangeet: Traditions of Indian Music

Ashok Ranade

The Ancientness :

Mohenjo-daro and Harappa were amongst the earliest known seats of culture and civilization in India. Dating back at least to 3600 B.C. by all conservative estimates, these pre-Aryan cultures left a dancing-girl statue as well as signs of ritualistic religion for us to guess about the ancientness of music in India. In Lothal — a small village near Ahmedabad in Gujarat — convincing clues are found regarding a flourishing trading culture (which must not have barred music!). An object found in this culture-seat dating back to 3400 B.C. is surmised to be a bridge of a string instrument. The rest is all silence at this point of time. Then the Aryan-culture enters the scene with horse, fire and the will to conquer. After a period of intense struggle and an uneasy but meaningful co-existence with the pre-Aryans, India finally comes to historical certitude with the Vedas — the sacred books of the Aryas. The compilation of the Vedas was of course a progressive process, spanning many centuries and contributed to by many minds belonging to as many clans of the early Aryas. The puny sense of chronological exactitude becomes a petty absurdity in the face of the mind-boggling activity of cultural encrustration that went on for centuries. But even so, by 1000 B.C. the compilation must have been completed and by that time oral tradition must have taken charge of the whole process. Since then it was the Vedic Age. All references here lead to the Vedas. From music to medicine, from astrology to astronomy, from poetry to theology and from literature to metaphysics everything was included in the Vedas — the four of them named Rigveda, Samaveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda. All of them were encyclopaedic in nature, inspirational in motivation and impressive in execution. Of them all the Samaveda was the fount of all music.

To put it simply, Samaveda was a selective compilation of hymns taken from Rigveda. For the purpose of embellished and unembellished chanting at the time of sacrificial fire-rites in praise of deities like Sun, Sacred fire etc. Sama-chanting was done with or without instrumental accompaniment on Vina — the ancient lute-like instrument. The leader in the chanting was helped among others by his wife

(so much for women's musical rights!). Chanting without instrumental support was regarded superior and this is worth remembering in the context of the traditional supremacy enjoyed by vocal, solo music in India — perhaps even to-day, though vocal music seems to be losing ground to instrumental music in the recent fifty years or so. The Sama-s could be described as tune-moulds that proved effective and attractive and thus many verses were probably sung in one Sama-mould at least in the stabilized phase of the ancient Vedic music. It has been computed that 1810 verses are taken out of the total 10,000 from the Rigveda. It has also been conjectured that there were at one time, 7000 tune-moulds in circulation! It is clear that there were many musical minds active and names of some of the composer-sages left to us are Angiras, Bharadwaj, etc. after whom some of the Sama-s are named.

Sama-chanting belongs to the category which can be described as the sacred music of India. But obviously there are secular musical needs to be fulfilled in every society. Ancient, Vedic India was no exception. There were other musical varieties like Gatha, Narashamsi, Uktha which were secular. They were mostly songs in praise of victors or leaders of clans. Persons who sang these were also different from those who chanted the Sama-s. The difference of the musical import was thus reflected in the separateness of the singers. It is interesting to note that even today there are separate castes of people who earn their living by practicing performing arts — namely dance, drama and music. It is undisputed that in Ancient India the sacred or the supernatural and popular and the human were evenly juxtaposed. Inevitably it was so because there were separate musical needs to be satisfied. Along with the two main musical categories — sacred and secular — there was instrumental music also. There were wind instruments like Vamshi (Flute), percussion instruments like Dundubhi (drum) and string instruments like Vina (lute). All these possessed variety and differed in shapes, sizes, number of strings, material etc. But it is not intended here to give a chronological or historical account of Indian music. The idea is to make it easier to grasp the longevity of musical impulses of the ancient Indians. Many of the features of contemporary Indian music are seen to have an embryonic existence in Vedic music. Performing arts tend to have a continuity of their own and the idea of progress in these arts does not mean a total disappearance or disutility of earlier characteristics. It will be no exaggeration to say that there is nothing completely new in musical arts. But it is also truthful to maintain that there is nothing really old or outdated in them! Obviously this is a paradox, but one which is better to accept in the interest of gettting a sense of belonging and cohesiveness.

The Oral Tradition

An important general feature of Indian music must be noted before we move on. How was this music passed on to the coming generations? How did the successive generations manage to learn from their ancestors and carry on the heritage to their immediate or distant successors? This is an important consideration for anything that needs or boasts of a continuity. Usually, writing, printing or such other media are resorted to perpetuate, store and carry forward memories, messages as also dreams of one generation to the future ones. But there are cultures which in spite of their unquestionable sophistication select not to suffer the disadvantages of the rigidity, definiteness and chronological rootedness that accompany printing etc. This is the main rationale behind the preference shown for the oral over the written in many high cultures. Though a detailed exposition of the theme of oral tradition is not possible and perhaps necessary in the present context, the following brief enumeration of the chief characteristics of it will be helpful to understand some outstanding qualities of music in India.

(1) *Importance of the Word*

Word of mouth is invested with special sanctity. Giving promises, taking oaths (or showering curses!) are all features of oral tradition. Music too places its reliance on the oral manifestation of the human expressive desire, resorting to the medium of sound. Music is not written down. Music-scores do not find a place on the Indian musical scene.

(2) *Audience — participation*

By corollary the oral is also aural. Listening and listeners are regarded as very important. In fact they are not treated as passive receivers in a communicative process but as knowledgeable participants in a process of creation. Definite role is assigned to the audience and Indian musicians feel deeply concerned about the quality of the audience-participation. The anxiety is to establish a rapport with the audience to ensure a two-way flow in the music-making. Even the seating-arrangement reflects the priority given to the audience. In an ideal (traditional) Indian musical concert, the audience is at hand-shaking distance from the artist. The verbal as well as the non-verbal responses of the members of the audience are thus easily perceived by the artist, who thrives on them and soars higher, or dives down to musical destruction if the audience is of that type — an audience that favours stony silence or a frivolous restlessness to chosen vocal response or an immediate gestural conveying of approval|disapproval.

(3) *The Peaceful Coexistence* :

Like the famous 'unwritten' constitution of the United Kingdom, Oral tradition too does not preclude either writing or the written. It only means the emphases are on *not* reducing things to writing in a

major way and in matters of essence. In the present context therefore no notation system of an elaborate nature has developed in India. Rudimentary notation of both the tonal and the rhythmic aspects did exist in India — but this could at the most be described as skeletal presentation of the musical intent! In a way this proved conducive to the artist's freedom to improvise. Broadly speaking it can be maintained that Indian music is distinguished from many other musical systems of the world due to the immense possibility of improvisation it holds in store for each and every artist ready to take the risk. This is the reason why terms like interpretation, spontaneity, inspiration, insight etc. assume such a halo in Indian musical thought. Much is left to the imagination of artists. There are more of inbuilt opportunities of music-making in Indian music. Rightly this has attracted attention of discerning students of music the world-over. Only the texts of the compositions or such bare structural props are found 'written' in India. All elaboration remains tantalizingly intangible.

(4) *The Guru* :

For the sort of music that is to emerge finally in the oral tradition, *who* teaches and how is extremely significant. In fact, it is felt that no mere teacher can be expected to carry on the alchemic process of transforming a learner of skills into a creative artist. Hence the special institution of the Guru which is so highly valued in Indian music and also very significantly, in Indian philosophy and metaphysics. Guru is a person of immense learning and patience. He is interested in his disciple as a whole being. (There are no fixed class-hours in their relationship!). Ideally the disciple lives with the Guru, serves him with devotion and dedication and often without recompensing him monetarily. In return the Guru is expected to equip the disciple not only with the required musical skills but also with an insight into the workings of the musical microcosm. Music is not just a branch of knowledge but is a complete philosophy of life. The preponderence of religious|devotional compositions along with love-lyrics is thus an important indication of the aim to be attained through music. It can be described as a very conscious effort to attain the ineffable through the direct power of sensuous sound and sense — the instrumentality through which the transmutation is realized.

(5) *The Sutra Way* :

In agreement with the spirit of the oral tradition in music, the Guru explains music while imparting training mainly through aphoristic verbal formulae that are brief, suggestive and provocatively in need of accompanying demonstration. The non-verbal demonstration is to be supplied by the Guru, as and when required and also according to the needs of individual disciples. The Sutras clinch the point but leave out the explanation because the latter is the variable in the total communication process that music-teaching|learning is.

(6) *The Role of Memory* :

With documentation kept to the minimum memory becomes a faculty to be revered and cultivated. All musical learning is required to be at the beck and call of the practitioner. Hence special memorizing techniques have been developed. Repetition, multiple-association, ritualistic context and such other features form part of the muemonic techniques developed and sedulously practised by Indian musicians.

(7) *Ritualism* :

There is a very definite inclination towards ritualism in oral tradition. Rules are laid down about the procedures to be followed, sequences to be observed and also about how the environment is to be controlled|arranged while teaching, learning or practising music. Myths are in circulation about the effectiveness or otherwise of adhering to or deviating from certain ceremonial practices etc. In fact there are rituals in respect of accepting a Guru| disciple, performing in public in presence of elders. All are motivated towards concentrating on reachable and not so reachable forces from the conscious and unconscious layers of individual minds so as to pursue the musical practices concerned most effectively.

In reality characteristics of the oral tradition can hardly be overestimated in the context of Indian music even today. Because, though music-education, propagation is getting increasingly institutionalized all over the country, the products of these are hardly comparable to the products of the Guru-Shishya way in artistic excellence and craftsmanship. As yet no way has been found to synthesize the modes of the 'moderns' with those of Indian identity. It is on the background of the extensively and often unobtrusively operating oral tradition that the phenomenon of Indian music is to be appreciated.

(8) *Plurality of Music-s* :

While referring to Indian music it is generally overlooked that India is as vast as its culture is ancient. As far as music is concerned, it is perhaps the only country which has *two* fully developed systems of art-music namely Hindustani and Carnatic. Of the total 30 states and union territories, about 25 can be counted as having separate cultural personalities of their own. Of these, 20 units are covered by the Hindustani system of art-music and five by the Carnatic system of music. Art-music as a category is called 'classical music' in India. It is necessary to remember that unlike the Western nomenclature in art-histories, the term 'classical' does not connote in India a definite chronological, historical aspect. The Indian usage is more quality-oriented. 'Classical' Indian music means music that

is more 'scientific', more restrained in emotional expression and one which is not subject to day-to-day changes in people's likes and dislikes or fashions. It is a more durable musical manifestation because it answers to more basic human urges for order, peace or restlessness which is not due to material causes or mundane matters. The point is that 'two' systems of this type of 'Classical' music have been co-existing in India since the 14th century. In addition to these two art-musics, many states (when taken as ethnological entities) have folk-music of their own. Though in absence of thorough area-studies it is difficult to be categorical in this respect, it is possible to maintain that at least 17 of the 25 political units mentioned above have their recognizable and considerable bodies of folk-musics. When one adds to these musics those of various tribal groups — the picture of musical India becomes almost complete. A conservative estimate sets the population of the unassimilated tribals to be 5 millions and of those relatively assimilated around 20 millions. This abundance and variety of music with more or less overlapping areas tempts one to say that musically speaking India is a related group of musical cultures embodied physically and politically in one nation. In face of such a staggering variety of musical manifestations expertise, examination and final evaluation of Indian music should appear only a recurring and desirable dream! Of late popular music has been recognized as a legitimate musical category. A chief characteristic of this category is that it is media-manufactured. Music that is generated and propagated by Indian radio and films is of such a gigantic proportion and unassessed influence that, coupled with these, musical scene in India seems to defy analysis. It is on this background that one speaks of the plurality of musics in India. It is also in this context that one is forced to take a discretionary decision — to consider only the category of art-music for the purpose of getting acquainted with the musical heritage of India which is referred to in the title as Sangit.

Art-musics: Main Elements

There are some elements that are common to both the systems of art-music mentioned earlier; namely, Hindustani and Carnatic. It is desirable to know a little more about them before proceeding further.

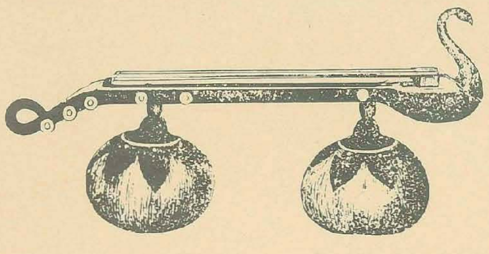
The Melodic Way : The first element to note in Indian music is that it is melodic. Putting it simply melody is a way of organizing musical notes — the primary material of any musician. In melody one note is used at a time and there is a succession of such notes. In Harmony, the other way of organizing the notes — more than one note is the basic unit and these notes are used simultaneously. Both systems have their own advantages and disadvantages. What one chooses depends on what one wants to achieve — musically speaking. The melodic way is perhaps an Asian quality found in many other countries like Afganistan, Iran, Iraq etc.

The Solo way

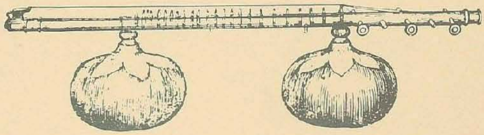
It is not difficult to imagine that melodic manner of ordering one's musical material goes hand in hand with the importance of another musical feature : the 'solo' element. When one person is the chief and continued centre from which music emanates we can take it as an example of 'solo'. Of course, Western music too has solo-singing. But it is no exaggeration to say that the Western musical expression is mainly choral|orchestral while the Indian musical manifestation is chiefly solo. In spite of the obvious overlappings involved musical systems can be classified according to the role assigned to the solo|collective expression. In such a classification Indian art-music is comfortably placed among the solo-systems. Not that it lacks 'musical togetherness'. In fact right from the early days vocal and instrumental groupings of various sizes and types are mentioned. But even so, there is no 'orchestral' or 'choral' music as the terms are understood in the Western musical system. At the most there was and is group-music (i.e. music where more than one vocalist|instrumentalist come together). But they all sing|play simultaneously and also perform the same musical phrase etc. Individuals merge together to perform in such a way that the powerful impression will be of one music — homogeneous and unidirectional.

Primacy of Vocal Music

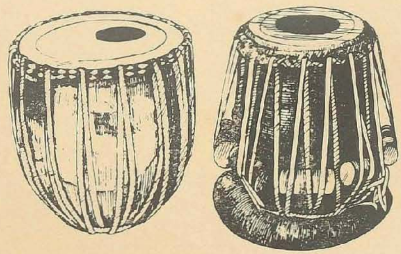
Another very important aspect of Indian music is the primacy of vocal music as compared to the stature enjoyed by instrumental music. As indicated earlier, there is no orchestral music in Indian tradition. More important is the fact that : many of the instruments do only what vocal music does. In other words, instruments rarely have musical 'forms' of their own. They imitate — more or less — successfully what a vocalist does. In imagination, idiom and ideals an Indian instrumentalist redraws the map already provided by vocal music. Very often instrumentalists are graded according to the degree of success they achieve in 'translating' vocal music on their respective instruments. This is especially so as far as tonal instruments of the string and wind variety are concerned. Examples of Sarod, Sitar, Santoor, Sarangi, Violin, Vina, Shehnai, Flute, Harmonium will easily come to mind. Significantly, rhythm instruments of the tonal variety like Pakhawaj, Tabla have their own forms. By and large, Indian instrumental music is yet to come out of the shadow of Indian vocal music. However, the question of primacy should not be confused with that of popularity. In the matter of primacy, what is involved is the maturity and variety of the independent idiom of instruments concerned. While the Pakhawaj and the Tabla have ripened into adulthood, the other instruments are on their way to maturity. Their potential



63. Vichitra Veena

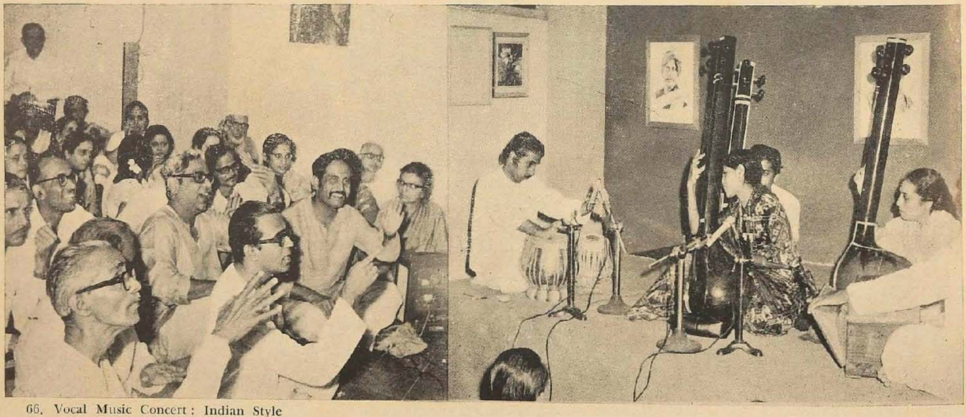


64. Been



65. Banya (Dagga) and Tabla

62. Lady Drummer: Konarak



66. Vocal Music Concert: Indian Style

is not questioned here. It is only suggested that they have a long way to go before attaining a really full-grown status. That they are moving in this direction is clear from the fact that instruments like Sitar, Sarod, Sarangi which have attracted a large number of non-Indian ears were hardly regarded as concert-solo instruments barely a hundred years ago. From purely accompaniment stage such instruments have moved ahead but they have to cover considerable ground as yet.

The Twin-Systems

We have already mentioned the simultaneous and continued existence of two systems of art-music in India, namely the Hindustani and the Carnatic. Some more factual information could be usefully given here regarding the twins.

Obviously there was one system of art-music covering the whole sub-continent till about the 14th century. The regional musics were of course there but the first mention of the Hindustani-Karnatak distinction is reliably attributed to Haripal's Sangit Sudhakara written between 1309-1312 A.D. It is probable that the entrenchment of the Muslims of Persian origin in the Deccan around the same time hastened the process of polarization. Followers of Islam were the first outsiders who came to India, settled here, but did not allow religious and cultural assimilation with the original Hindus. Hence cultural confrontation (and therefore mutual exchange of influences) was possible. The probable process that ultimately led to the emergence and autonomous development of two systems of co-existing art-musics could be simplified and presented as follows :-

pre-fourteenth century Indian music + Persian influence = Hindustani music.

pre-fourteenth century Indian music + Dravidian linguistic and cultural influence = Karnatak music.

Further, the practice of calling the Karnatak system as Carnatic originates from the British period (i.e. after 1757). From the ancient times the present Tamilnadu was known as Karunadu. This was turned to Carnatic by the British. However, this way of putting it has another justification. All the four major linguistic-geographical areas in the South have contributed to the development of Karnatak music as it is today and hence naming it as Karnatak was to unnecessarily confine the validity-area to only one of these regions namely Karnatak. The change to the appelation 'Carnatic' appears to have come to stay. All this should help one to understand the abundant similarities — dissimilarities between the two systems. The systems are so to say, sister-cultures. The similarities between them are mostly of generic nature and the differences are those brought about by acquisition, or nurturing of music in a different ethos. As they stand today they are more different than similar in practice, performance and conception. The common elements are now confined to the terminology and the level of philosophical abstraction which is in a sense far removed from the act of listening to music as a layman.

Rag|Ragam, Tal-Talam

These two concepts are broadly speaking common to both the systems and additionally, the two phenomena mentioned, distinguish Indian music from other musical systems in the world. It can be truly said that to understand Rag (or Ragam as Carnatic system calls it) and Tal (Talam in Carnatic parlance) is to understand Indian music. These two are the core-concepts. Along with solo element and melodic way these two help in raising the impressive architecture of Indian music.

As Rag occupies such an important place, many traditional musical compositions trace the idea of Rag simply and succinctly. Without technical details the idea of Rag can be understood by considering the following steps :-

First there was the Will.

Then there was the Sound.

Musically acceptable sounds came next.

These sounds were arranged pitch-wise i.e. from higher to lower and vice versa.

Ascending movement (low to high) and descending movement (high to low) revealed the phenomenon of octave space.

Octage arrangement revealed that certain sounds agree|disagree with certain other sounds.

Frameworks provided by agreeable sounds were found to be innumerable. Within the framework it was possible to weave many patterns if some rules provided a firm base.

Elaboration techniques were formulated to generate new patterns.

Now all these steps mean one thing as far as music-creating is concerned : one must have rules as well as the freedom to break them. Some technical terms will help to understand how this balance is achieved in case of Rag.

Musically attractive sounds were mainly sounds which were judged as consonants. These were called Swara-s i.e. notes. As such sounds recurred on lower and higher levels in any movement from a reference Swara, the concept of basic, recurring frame or mould crystallized — this was Grama (i.e. Scale).

From the member-notes of the Grama various sequential changes, accentuation changes and inclusion-exclusion acts were realized. This is Rag-frame. Making allowance for its flexibility we may preferably call it Rag-circles. This basic-frame can be further exploited by changing, manipulating order, pace, frequency of the member notes. This is the famous improvised elaboration of the Indian Rag. The ultimate end of musical sound is reached at this stage. This stage is called improvisation.

Before discussing improvisation, we must however

have a brief look at the Tal. Following stages are relevant:—

Every note (and therefore all music) requires some 'duration' (i.e. time-space) to realize its musical purpose. This is known as Kal (time). As music cannot be a continuous sound process, silences become important and hence it is also assigned a role in building the duration. We can describe the situation by saying that sounding duration and silent duration — when taken together — mark musical time. Marking of the musical time create Tal. The process of marking is made concrete by acoustic dividers called Matra (beats). This is how the time-flow gets punctuated by the Matras and we become aware of the duration. However, the story is not yet complete. An unending line of Matras will soon become meaningless. Therefore, rather arbitrarily, the archetypal Indian musical mind decided to impose a pattern on the flow by limiting it to a definite number of beats to six, seven etc. Thus after counting these Matras there was an inevitable returning to the first beat. The Tal too became circular. Once the circularity imposes a pattern of definite expanse on the time-flow (which otherwise moves only forward-backward), then a musician can play with the in-between beats that sound in the duration defined by any two first-beats. The first-beats become the main anchoring points. They are called 'Sam' — the point in which the music and the Tal-cycle strikes exact correspondence. Play with the non-Sam beats obviously yields Further patterns in sound and silence which ultimately all music is. This arabesque quality of music is felt in all musics by even a casual listerner. In fact the first impact of music is felt at this level — namely the level of sound patterns. Deeper the impact at this level, surer will be the possibility of understanding the intricacies of musical forms, their structures and the individual architectures. Coming back to Tal, by redistributing the non-Sam beats, by spacing them, clustering them etc. one can improvise to a certain extent. Once upon a time there were one hundred and eight Tals in Indian musical repertoire. The historical process of changes in musical attitudes has now brought down the number to around 15-16. Proliferation of the basic time-cycles i.e. Tals was obviously felt to be unproductive. Intensive cultivation of a limited number of Tal-cycles was preferred. The result seems to be interesting. Indian rhythmic patterns have excited the imagination of even lay listeners.

These are then the basic ideas of Indian music taken as a whole: Rag, Tal and improvisation. To both the systems practised in India, these are common. Though there are additions, substractions of some sub-characteristics, the fundamental framework of the ideas remains unaltered and hence they can always be referred to. Everything that happens in Indian music maintains relations with all of these or some of these. Hence it is a good policy to refer to the trinity of a Rag, Tal and improvisation whenever one is exposed to Indian music. Rag and Tal are the two concentric circles — the centre being the artist and improvisation is the general strategy he uses while dealing with them.

After all, these fundamentals of Indian music need some channels through which they can be communicated. Just as in case of literature we have drama, novel, short story, lyric etc. as crystallized moulds that enable the author to express himself through his own responses to the already available structure, similarly there are forms in music too. Musical forms are a combined result of Rag, Tal linguistic sense — non-sense and conventions of the performing tradition. If historically enumerated the number of musical forms would be many more than at present. But we are referring to only those major musical forms of Indian art-music that are in circulation today. This narrows down their number. Some of the contemporary forms could be shown to have a long ancestry — with some changes in the accompanying terminology and structural features. However, that is not our purpose and we focus on the current practice as revealed in the performing tradition of music.

Another important point is that most of the Indian instrumental music only translates vocal music. There are very few instrumental musical forms independently crystallized. Hence vocal forms of music should have priority in consideration.

Indian art-music in Rag-music. The first musical form in which it is manifested is the pre-Tal stage of Rag-elaboration. This type of elaboration is not associated with every rendering but it is employed by musicians quite often. When the pre-Tal elaboration is executed with the help of meaningless consonant-vowel clusters like Nom, tom, Ri, dana etc. it is called 'Nom-Tom'. However, it can also be realized by using the vowels A, I etc. These are then called Alap. The Carnatic corresponding item is Alapana.

The category of musical forms that use Rag, Tal and meaningless linguistic clusters comes next. As is to be expected, the category cannot boast of many forms. Hindustani music has in the main two : Tarana and Trivat. Tarana consists of a composition in Rag-Tal that uses syllables like Dir Dir Tan Na Na. Trivat differs from Tarana in one important respect: it is composed of rhythmic letter-clusters of Pakhawaj — the ancient, two-faced horizontal drum in India. Sargam — the third form in the category has compositions consisting of Sol-Fa names. It is clear that though Sol-Fa names are semantically empty, they have some musical import as the Sol-Fa names denote definite pitch-levels in the musical gamut of the Rag concerned. From the Carnatic system, Tillana corresponds to the Tarana while Kalpana Swaram can be equated with the Sargam.

The third category of musical forms is distinguished from the previous two because in this category language is meaningfully used. Naturally, the category includes greater number of forms in both the systems.

The Hindustani Dhrupad-Dhamar has a long history. A Dhrupad composition consists of four parts : Sthayi, Antara, Sanchari and Abhog. Usually in praise of God, king, music or nature, it is sung in two stages : the pre-Tal and the Tal-stage. The previous stage is known a Nom-Tom described earlier. Nom-Tom is used for an unhindered Rag-elaboration. With the on-set of the Tal the four-part composition is chiefly used for rhythmic elaboration as the words are set through various paces without breaking the individual word-units. The singing style is virile and aptly the form is practised and performed by male-singers. Also equally apposite is the fact that the rhythm accompaniment is provided on Pakhawaj — a very sonorous drum. At one time Dhrupad was the temple and court-music of India.

In a way Dhamar is an adjunct form — a form usually going hand in hand with Dhrupad. Unlike Dhrupad, Dhamar is always sung in the Tal which carries the same name. In a tempo which is slightly faster than that of Dhrupad, it describes Hori — the colour-festival — though often of Krishna. To the extent it goes out of religious and bardic themes it displays a secular element. Being in faster tempo also acts as a fillip to the less serious mood. However, the singing style is similar to that of Dhrupad. In addition to what has been stated above both these are also known for their accent on maintaining the purity of Rag. The very way in which the singing of these forms is structured precludes the possibility of the artist trying to take any liberties with the Rag structure. Dhrupad and Dhamar forms are the austere ways of presenting Hindustani music.

Carnatic music does not seem to have any musical form that corresponds to Dhrupad and Dhamar of Hindustani music. However, in so far as the austere and purist attitude to the Rag is concerned, Varnam, which is usually presented at the beginning of a Carnatic concert seems to correspond to one aspect of Dhrupad. Varnam presents Rag in its most authentic and pure structure. No Rag-elaboration is included in its rendering. It has two parts : Pada Varnam and Tana Varnam. The former has text, the latter consists of both text and solfeggio.

The next important word-bound form of Hindustani vocal music is the Khayal. Khayal is sub-divided into Bada Khayal and Chhota-Khayal. The former is in slow tempo and is also loosely structured as far as the pattern etched by the Tal-frame is concerned. More often than not the Khayal composition itself, as well as the Rag-elaboration done with its help, both are woven around the Tal-beats. The elements of freedom is also manifest in the melodic line of singing taken as a whole. It is less rigid and deliberately flexible unlike that of Dhrupad. Both the khayals have two parts — A Sthayi and Antara. Improvisation is present in both and hence the duration of presenting these varies from singer to singer and sometimes from one occasion to another in case of the same artist ! Hindustani vocal art-music is today dominated by Khayal-singing. Hence a brief description of its presentation will be in order.

At the inception Sthayi and Antara are presented. This gives the listener a firm context about the nature of the Rag intended by the artists, about the individual Tal used by the artist as well as about the compositor-text, tempo and such other matters. The Sthayi usually dwells in the lower half of the scale and the Antara in the upper half. This is to ensure that the Rag is covered in its entirety.

The Sthayi-Antara taken together provide the Rag-skeleton that is explored with the help of Alaps. Chiefly Alaps are freely rendered tonal movements improvised by the singer and presented with the help of the vowel-sound A. As is known this vowel-sound has a long reach and its use enables an uninterupted, fluid presentation. Generally, vowel-sounds possess these qualities as opposed to the stopping properties of the consonants. The Alaps are in slow tempo to begin with but are gradually accelerated. Similarly they usually start on lower pitches and move on to higher levels. However, to facilitate the latter-level Alaps, the centre of elaboration is shifted to the Antara — which, as already mentioned — is itself composed in the upper half of the octave.

Sometimes intermittently with the Alaps but often next to them come the Bol-Alaps, i.e. Alaps which are superimposed on the words (i.e. Bols) of the text of the composition. Due to the consonant-clusters involved the flow of vocalization is restricted but the meaning of the words adds an evocative element to the whole procedure.

Almost the penultimate stage in Khayal rendering is bol-tan. The Bols here are superimposed on fast-tempo vocalization with content similar to that of Alaps. The movement is rhythm-oriented and Bols facilitate the rhythm-stresses than mere Alaps. The tempo is also on a gradual increase and there is clear indication of the musical climax in the making.

The climax is finally realized in Tan-s. They are fast tempo Alap-passages with a slight leaning towards the element of virtuousity. Rhythmic patterns are also on the increase and both contribute to a type of rounding-off of the Rag-image so sedulously built up. The Tan-portion of Rag-elaboration is not confined to Bada Khayal. In fact quite often it comes to the fore in the Chhota-khayal. The intrinsic faster tempo of the Chhota khayal is obviously conducive to Tans.

One warning is perhaps necessary. The slowness or fastness of tempo is very much an artist-centred

phenomenon. He decides the tempo which he wants to treat as slow or fast. There is no absolute time in Indian music just as there is no absolute pitch !

Kriti in Carnatic music is comparable to Khayal of Hindustani music in importance and musical domination due to its capacity to allow individual artists enough scope of imaginative elaboration. Kriti — (lit. that which is composed) has three parts : Pallavi, Anupallavi and Charanam. There may be two Charanams. In that case the second carries the name of the composer and hence is known as Mudracharanam.

Pallavi is the opening section and being the burden of the composition it is repeated after Anupallavi and Charanam. Pallavi is 'to blossom' and aptly it opens up the composition. Anupallavi — as the name suggests (anu — to follow) comes next. Like Sthayi of the Khayal Pallavi ranges over the lower parts of the octave and like Antara, Anupallavi explores the upper reaches. Both together do justice to the Rag — taken as a whole.

A high-point in Kriti-singing is the Sangati-s. Basically they are variations on various melodic themes introduced in the composition itself. Sangati-s can be likened to the Alaps of the Khayal-singing. Very often Sangati-s are also composed by the original composer.

Neraval like Bol-tan use the text of the song for superimposing varied tonal and rhythmic movements and these are mostly extemporized.

Unlike the khayal-singing, kritis do not have Tans, but they have abundance of solfeggio — singing both extempore and pre-composed. The latter is known as Chitta Swara or Swar Sahitya.

There is no separate Chhota khayal-like composition in Kriti-singing but a passage known as 'Madhyamakala' (i.e. medium or quicker tempo) — singing occurs either at the end of Anupallavi or the Charanam or both. Apparently both Chhota khayal and these passages serve the same aesthetic purpose of moving towards musical climax.

Next word-user musical form in Carnatic vocal music has probably no counterpart in Hindustani art-music. It is the Padam, which is basically a song with regular sectional arrangements. Rag-elaboration is not its main aim.

Javali like Padam occupies a place in the Carnatic repertoire of lighter varieties of music. Unlike the other Carnatic forms, Javali is secular and non-devotional. It is a love-song in three sections i.e. Pallavi, Anupallavi and Charanam. Its music corresponds to its content and forms a good vehicle for Abhinaya (gestures and acting). Javali comes nearest to Thumri and Dadra of the Hindustani repertoire. Thumri obviously was a dance-drama oriented form in origin with love-sentiment to the fore. It is not surprising that the Rag-rules are most relaxed in this form. Mixture of Rags is, in fact encouraged and expected. Words are very evocatively used in Thumari-singing and perhaps that accounts for its wide and easy appeal. Dadra is identical in content and mood but is set in Dadra Tal of six beats and Waltz-like rhythm. This special lilt distinguishes it from Thumri.

The last important pair of musical forms in Indian music is Rag Sagar|Rag-Malika. Both are essentially strings of Rag-s in which different Rag-s are used for successive stanzas. Passage from one Rag to the other has to be both smooth and skillful and this is the main attractive feature of the form. Rag-Sagar is the Hindustani version and Rag-Malika the Carnatic version of the idea of bringing many Rag-s together in an attractive manner. The pleasure is both sensuous and intellectual.

These then are the major forms of Indian music considered as a whole. There are many other forms in both the systems but they are less heard and lesser performed.

A word here about instrumental art-music in India is in order. As far as Rag-music is in question, by and large all the instruments try to reproduce the corresponding ideas of vocal music. They of course add their own timber and other sound effects to the musical content. But that does not seem to make any essential difference. Paucity of separate compositions for instruments that have attained solo-status today, is symptomatic of the fact that they have yet to formulate their own distinctive language. The truth of the matter is that instrumental music is not as autonomous as it could be. In spite of some comparatively recent exceptions Indian music traces one and the same map of musical ideas in both vocal and instrumental categories. The main instruments that are used in Rag-music are : Sarangi, Violin, Shehnai, Bansuri, Sitar, Sarod and Been (Hindustani Music) and Violin, Nagswaram, Flute, Vina (Carnatic music).

The Been is perhaps the oldest among the Hindustani instruments. It follows the Dhrupad form in its renderings. Violin, Shehnai and Bansuri follow the pattern laid down by Khayal. Sitar and Sarod have recently succeeded in formulating two basic styles of rendering Rag-music. One is Gayaki Ang i.e. the style based on vocal music and the other is Gatkari Ang or Tant Ang i.e. a style based on the compositions specifically designed for the instrument in question. Obviously these processes can be viewed as preludes to a crystallization of richer styles of the instruments themselves.

Sitar and Sarod have succeeded today in finalizing two basic types of composition-forms. The slower one is called Masitkhani and the faster one Razakhani. These obviously seem to follow the logic of musical mapping exemplified by Khayal. In the pre-Tal stage they naturally seem to have selected the Nom Tom

style of Rag-elaboration. After the detailed slow treatment of the Rang in Alap (traced in the Nom Tom style they move to 'Jode' (coupled, paired) phase. This is almost the double of the earlier Alap in tempo and more importantly Jode includes one stroke on the side-string followed by one on the main. (This is why it is called Jode). 'Jode' playing is followed by 'Jhala' — the fast-tempo exhilirating musical elaboration in which the last side-string (with the highest pitch) is struck twice or thrice after one stroke on the main string. This yields patterns of 1,2,2,2 or 1,2,2 — type in a fast tempo. This is the conclusion of the pre-Tal stage. Follows Masitkhani in slow tempo. It is mainly embellished with rhythmic patterns. In the Razakhani which is set in fast tempo, there is enough scope for faster Tan-patterns. This is the general pattern followed by Sitar, Sarod and to an extent even by Violin, Sarangi, Shehnai, Flute. This is the reason why the progressions are described in detail.

It has been already pointed out that other instruments like Violin, Sarangi, Shehnai, Vina etc. do not have musical forms of their own. Depending on the ability of the individual musicians they recreate vocal music in their own timbre as to tally as possible. Thus we come to the two developed drum-types in Indian music : the horizontal, two-faced, barrel-shaped Pakhawaj (Hindustani Music), Mridangam (Carnatic music) and the vertical drum-pair 'Tabla'.

Pakhawaj and Mridangam differ in that the former is more resonant and the latter more sharper in timbre. Timbre-peculiarities, coupled with the specific attitudes that Hindustani and Carnatic systems hold towards Tal have resulted in the distinctive formulation of the languages of these instruments. The art of rhythmic playing has been evolving from at least 200 A.D. and even documentary evidence is overwhelming. Broadly speaking it seems that both the horizontal and vertical drums were widely prevalent in ancient India. Originally the drum-vessels were made of clay and the right-hand drum (in case of the vertical drum-pair) as also the right drum-face (in case of the horizontal barrel-faced drum) were partially covered with a mixture of wet clay. Some time during the evolution three things seem to have happened : the clay vessel was replaced by a wooden one; the right-hand drum or the right drum-face were treated to a partial, centred and permanent coverage by a paste made of powdered iron, carbon etc. called Syahi (i.e. ink); simultaneously the left-hand drum and left drum-face were treated similarly with permanent and temporary coverage of Syahi and paste made of wheat/rice flour respectively. The result is that in all cases the left-hand produces a bass marginally adjustable sound and the right-hand a high-pitched, adjustable tone. Combination of these sounds, produced skillfully with palms and fingers of both hands make the alphabets of these three instruments namely Pakhawaj, Mridangam and Tabla. The alphabets naturally and ultimately lead us to forms realized through rhythm-instruments.

The Pakhawaj-player selects the Tal-cycle (usually Choutal or Dhamar) and pays the Tal-pattern. This is the first step. (A person is independently in charge of keeping time by clapping methodically. He is called Taipani, pani, = hand). Next he plays variations on this basic pattern. The variations are known as Theka-s. Hence, one Tal can have many Theka-s provided the variations in the sound-clusters i.e. Bols of the original Tal are not too radical. The Theka-s are succeeded by Rela-s. These are compositions of Bols that are conducive to their successive employment at a fast tempo — a tempo so paced that a continuous pulsating and sweet soundline is kept audible. Again there are variations carried out by change of accentuation etc. though the two considerations of pace and resonance are not lost sight of. After the Rela-s, Paran (from Sanskrit Parna = leaf i.e. evenly distributed pattern of veins !) are presented — and they are of infinite variety. Here improvisation is at its highest. Many Bol-s not occuring in the Tal are employed, the composition itself can continue for many cycles before it comes to the first beat of the Tal i.e. Sam. There might also be many improvised sub-patterns starting from various Matra-s of the Tal, and lastly there might be many Tihai-s i.e. sub-patterns which are completed when they are repeated thrice.

These then are the main forms of Pakhawaj in their normal sequence. It is of course to be remembered that this is a generalized statement and does not consider the accompaniment role of the instrument.

Tabla — the Hindustani drum-pair is of comparatively recent origin though it has attained recognizable maturity of language and form. In its solo-presentation, the artist chooses a particular Tal and then starts from Peshkar (from Pesh Karna (Hindi) — to present) which is slow-tempo elaboration of a composition that consists of Bol-s with definite weight and distinctness. The elaboration concentrates on sober presentation of rhythmic patterns rather than dazzling percussion — effects. Bol-s that are not included in the Tal-structure itself are used but it is ensured that the total effect is of listening to a serious presentation of language-units that are basic to the Tabla and relevant to the Tal taken up for elaboration. Next in the sequence is Kayada which is played in medium tempo and moves away from the Bol-s of the Tal concerned. But as the term suggests Kayada, — law in the elaborations that follow, no freedom (or less of it) is taken and the patterns are necessarily couched in the Bol-s of the Kayada itself. After the Kayada, Rela appears with a rhythmic aggression that is difficult to miss. All that is said about this form while dealing with Pakhawaj applies in case of Tabla too. A sense of correspondence that we ob-

tain in case of Rela is strengthened when we come to the next form known as Gat. Perhaps derived from the Sanskrit Gati — motion, tempo — it lives up to the expectation aroused by the name due to the amazing variety of rhythmic patterns displayed in it. Here the Bol-s of the Tal do not exert any binding influence. Similarly there are no restrictions as far as the number of tempo, a single Gat-composition can include in it. Very often the Gat-s conclude with Tihai-s which again abound both in number and variety.

The solo of Mridangam is different from the Hindustani counterparts mainly on two counts : Firstly, the Tal-system of the South differs from that of the North very significantly. Secondly, the Mridangam-timbre is less resonant than the Pakhawaj. It is sharp and short-lived. The abrupt, staccato quality of the timbre and the well computed system of the seven Tals combine and give a solo-idiom that is intellectual and mathematically precise but which does not give much scope to explore nuances of instrumental timbre. Rhythm in Carnatic music has three primary elements : Anudruta, Druta and Laghu. Anudruta is one beat, Druta is one beat and a rest Laghu is an Anudruta and finger count. Laghu is of five varieties according to the number of units contained. Permutation-combination of the three elements yield seven Tal-s and each Tal having five varieties. We have, in all, thirty-five Tal-s in the contemporary Carnatic-system. Significantly, the solo on Mridangam is called Tal-Prastar — elaboration of the Tals. On the less resonant Mridangam sharper and more minute time-divisions are possible — hence instead of gradations and variations of timbre, intricate patterns realized through time-divisions come to the forefront. This ruling passion for time-division and not for chairoscuro effect actualized through more and varied degrees of resonance is reflected in the fact that there are no Theka-s for the Tal-s in Carnatic music. This same fact accounts for the Carnatic musician's and listener's keeping time by hands and fingers throughout a performance. And thirdly the tempo is never less than medium — as the sound of the instrument is not resonant enough to leave behind an acoustic trail. This is also the reason why playing of Ghatam — a clay-pot — could establish itself in the Carnatic system. Thus within a time-measure Mridangam-player is at liberty to weave patterns based on precise calculations without the need felt for the generative moulds of rhythmic 'forms' like Peshkar, Kayada etc. It is the chosen Tal — the cyclic time-measure with its individual pattern which is itself the subject of rhythmic elaboration.

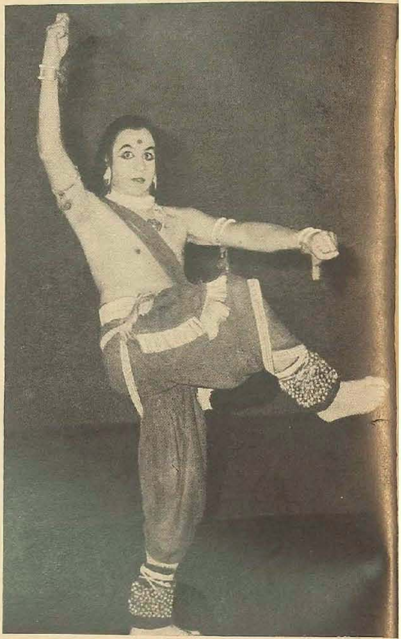
Here we end this brief introduction to Indian art-music. Needless to say that many facets of both the systems are not touched upon. Equally evident is the deliberate avoiding of technical jargon and complexities. But the attempt has been to lay down the basic ideas that unexceptionally occur in musical India. The aim is to whet the appetite of the interested. Nothing more is claimed. To try to achieve more would have been a foolhardy ambition — insulting to the magnitude of Indian musical reality.

67. Nateshwar

INDIAN CLASSICAL DANCE

SMT. KANAK RELE

68. Kathakali.



69. Kathak.

70. Bharat Natyam.

71. Mohini Attam.

Indian Classical Dance

Smt. Kanak Rele

All artistic endeavours of men are symbols through which they communicate the deep and abiding feelings and emotions which are beyond ordinary speech. Art is one of the most essential activities for the mere existence of men, just as religion is. It is the fundamental need of human beings to communicate. Bereft of the means of communicating with other human beings man ultimately loses all his senses and either degenerates to the animal level or even dies. Art is communication at the deepest and the most lasting level.

True art has that indestructible quality that outlasts life, conditions, trends and all the changing conditions of this dynamic world. And transcending the barriers of time it affects people in a very deep and moving manner. This is true of all art and specially of dancing which, because it is totally dependent on the human body, is the most malleable art, and it is the oldest art.

Before man can achieve anything, he must breathe and move. This movement is the source of life and dance is the supreme movement which was very essential to primitive life.

Failure to understand and appreciate dancing is failure to understand not merely the supreme manifestation of physical life, but also the supreme symbol of spiritual life. What then is dancing and its significance?

Dancing in its widest sense is the personalised human reaction to the appeal of a general rhythm which marks not only human life but the universe. Dancing is an arrangement or pattern in space, as architecture and painting and sculpture are and employs spacial rhythm. And like music, it is an arrangement in time employing rhythm. Thus dance is the only art which can be called time-space art, employing rhythm in both the spheres — audible and visual.

Havelock Ellis writes[1]:

"Dancing is the primitive expression alike of religion and love from the earliest human times we know of and of love from a period long anterior to the coming of man. The art of dancing, moreover, is intimately entwined with all human tradition of war, of labour, of pleasure of education, while some of the wisest philosophers and the most ancient civi-

lisations have regarded the dance as the pattern in accordance with which the moral life of men must be woven. To realise, therefore, what dancing means for mankind — the poignancy and the many sidedness of its appeal — we must survey the whole sweep of human life, both at its highest and its deepest moments".

The above very keen and pertinent observation is most significantly applicable to our own land than, may be to any other land with an exception of Egypt which can also legitimately claim to be the prime cradle of civilisation.

The earliest evidence of the art of dancing in India comes from the post-neolithic culture — Indus Valley Civilisation or the Harappan culture, which "in all its maturity was in existence at the beginning of the third millenium B.C."[2] These are two very beautiful statuettes — that of the torso of a male dancer from Harappa and a copper figurine of the dancing girl from Mohenjo-daro. These figures not only stand testimony to a very advanced stage of the artistic creativity of the sculptors but also to the fact that dance as an art must have played sufficiently important part in the life of the people and was in an advanced stage of development. For these statuettes do not appear to be fanciful creations of the human body, but appear to be conveying the tremendous relationship of man's innermost nature to that of the force of the external nature surrounding him. There have been a good number of statuettes from the excavations in this area but none seem to come in this class where a very definite physical attitude is sought to be conveyed.

Historically the flowering and popularity of the performing arts have fluctuated from era to era. Upon a systematic inquiry, there emerges a very definite and precise set of rules which guide these performing arts — specially music, dance and drama. Another fact that emerges is that the authenticity of any performing art is tested on the dicta of this particular set of rules. And unanimously this set of rules has been attributed by scholars of every era to a unique text called the Natya Shastra ascribed to the legendary sage Bharata.

The Natya Shastra (Science of Dramaturgy) is a unique work of Sanskrit literature. Judging by its title, this voluminous text should deal with theatre, but it is, in fact, an encyclopaedia which deals with allied subjects and arts which go with the theatre and successful stage presentation. The aim of not only the art natya but all arts according to the ancient Indian art thought, which can more appropriately be termed as Hindu thought, is the creation of Rasa (the aesthetic object) through the Rasavada (the aesthetic experience).

His instructions envelop chiefly:

1. The dramatist — In the writing of his play, the language to be employed characteristic of different types of plays and the analysis of their structure.
2. The stage manager and director. — Their qualifications, the ritual that they follow, their duties etc.
3. The actor and the actress — Their qualifications, physical attributes, proficiency, characterisation, casting.
4. The puja and preliminaries — The entire ritualistic aspect connected with the stage presentation according to Hindu thought.
5. The auditorium — Specifications, construction and the religious ceremony to be conducted for consecration.
6. The greenroom manager — Costume and make-up of the different characters.
7. The music — Musical accompaniment for a stage presentation which include the theory of music in general, singing of songs, playing of various types of instruments, *talas* etc.
8. The dance — The dance movements appropriate for men and women and their classification.

From the above very general classification of the scope of the Natya Shastra a very significant fact emerges and that is that in Bharata's times the arts of natya included dance (nritta and nritya) and music. In fact upon analysis of the various Sanskrit plays and the lexicons and grammatical works of that and the times following brings us to an indisputable and definite conclusion that the ancient Indian art of natya was unthinkable without music and dance included within it.

Here it must be borne in mind that though the two arts, dance and drama in the Indian tradition were irrevocably interconnected, they did maintain their individuality and at no given time did they get totally merged into one. But, at the same time, their technique of presentation was almost the same.

The art of dancing therefore in the context of the above discussion, would mean two distinct components.

Dance

Form	Content
Tangible.	Intangible.

To the Indian concept of dance, neither of the components, by itself, could sustain the concept of

dance. In the Hindu tradition all art leads the practitioner as well as the beholder towards *moksha,* and so any physical movements without this particular motivating force would degenerate into futile exercises. Actually, to the Indian mind there is no movement without a motivating force.

The form of dancing is a more tangible concept. It is very easy to observe and study the form of dance as it exists today. It is also an easy task to know of the form of dancing through ages from sculpture, painting and the evidence that is available from its literature. The form is not the constant aspect of Indian dance since it is changeable. It is the content that is constant that provides the motivating force to all the dance endevours through the ages and also has provided the indestructible quality to Indian dancing. After all the physical manifestation of the content cannot vary to a very significant extent, specially in this case, since the content is the very simple one and the most permanent of all, of providing the answer for man's existence itself.

Let us now turn to the classification of dance itself which came into currency in Bharata's time or immediately after him.

Nritta :

Nritta in the broadest sense of the term has been accepted as "pure or abstract dance which does not translate any words into physical movements in order to convey a definite meaning".

According to the Natya Shastra — *"nritta* is made up of *angaharas* which (in turn) are made up of *karanas"* and "a combination of composition of (movements of) hands and feet is called a *karana."*

Human anatomy would not permit a person to move his hands and feet without the other parts of the body also falling in line and a perfect composition of the entire body is absolutely essential to give a harmonious effect. Bharata is conscious of this fact and thus divides the human body into *angas* (major limbs) and *upangas* (minor limbs) and terms their movements as *recakas.* He also prescribes certain basic "poses" for these limbs. Thus a *Karana* or a basic dance unit would mean a perfectly harmonised cadence of movement made up of certain specified poses of the major and minor limbs connected together by *recaka* — and this must give an impression that the performer is "dancing". These original dance units or their subsequent and contemporary derivatives are still practised to create an atmosphere of beauty and embellishment *(sobhahetu)* and may convey or enhance a particular mood but without conveying a specific meaning *(artha).*

Nritya :

Nritya is that aspect of dance which "is expressive of the human sentiments, which conveys a definite meaning by means of a prescribed set of gestures and movements". It is here that the different poses of hands *(hastas),* movements of feet, eyes, eyebrows head etc. combine to create what is loosely termed today as *"abhinaya"* or expressive dance.

In the later centuries when the technique of dance emerges as distinct from drama proper, it becomes apparent that dance utilizes drama as one of its aspects in the same manner as *natya* utilizes dance. Similarly, in the later years dance comes to be further classified into *tandava* (vigorous) and *lasya* or *sukumara* (gentle) types.

Major components of dance :—

(1) Sattvika Abhinaya :

Sattvikabhinaya is all human activity *(abhinaya)* which is directly the result of the concentrated mind — as arising in the *'manas'* — and is employed in either *nritya* or *natya* because of its imitating human nature. Sattvikabhinaya is that sentiment *(rasa)* which is created by the psychological state *(bhava)* of the mind of the dancer, or the actor, due to the concentration of his mind on the particular situation. This *rasa* permeates among the spectators, thereby enveloping them also in the concentration experienced by the dancer. Thus it is the Sattvikabhinaya of the dancer which guides the enjoyment and experiences of the spectator, in whom the sentiment or *rasa* is created directly due to the *bhava* as being expressed by the dancer.

Bharata lists eight basic emotions *(sthayi bhavas)* giving rise to the eight sentiments *(rasas)* at the aesthetic, universalised, depersonalised but intensely human level.

	Sthayi bhava	Rasa
1.	Rati	Shringara (enchantment or erotic)
2.	Hasa	Hasya (Laughter)
3.	Shoka	Karuna (sorrow or pity)
4.	Krodha	Roudra (Anger)
5.	Utsaha	Vira (Courage or valour)
6.	Bhaya	Bhayanaka (Fear)
7.	Jugupsa	Bibhatsa (Disgust)
8.	Vismaya	Adbhuta (Wonderment)

To these was later added the Shanta Rasa which came up as a result of the intensely moving *bhakti* cult appealing to the mases.

Bharata also lists 33 *vyabhichari bhavas* or transient states.

(2) Angika Abhinaya :

This *abhinaya* deals with the physical activities and movements of the body and is represented by gestures and postures.

Bharata divides the bodily movements as

(i) Pertaining to the body itself which he calls *sharira* and is manifested through the major limbs *(angas)* — *Shira* (head), *vaksha* (chest), *kati* (waist),

parshva (sides), *trika* (hips), *uru* (thighs), *hasta* (hands) and *pada* (feet).

(ii) Pertaining to the face which he calls *mukhaja* and is manifested through the minor limbs *(upangas)* — *bhru* (eye brows), *puta* (eyelids), *tara* (eyeballs), *nasa* (nose), *adhara* (lips), *chibuka* (chin), *ganda* (cheeks), *danta* (teeth).

(iii) *Cheshtakrita* Pertaining to body in general which is again of three types — *sakha, ankura* and *suca.*

Out of these types of *angikabhinayas* it is the *mukhaja* combined with the *hasta* that is most relevant to the conveying of ideas and the creation of *rasas*. This does not mean that the others have no part to play; the body functions as a whole and so the other parts of the body have to follow suit. It only means that the other parts play a secondary role.

The later texts have added one more classification and that is *pratyangas* where the movements of the *griva* (neck), *bahu* (arms), *janu* (knees), *gulpha* (ankles) also have been included. These works are the laters works like Abhinayadarpana, Sangitaratnakara etc., a fact which confirms the premise that the post-Bharata period saw the emergence of dancing as an equally important art with an individuality all its own. Dance has primarily to do with the movements of the body and thus it is but natural that the concept of *angikabhinaya* would receive greater importance.

(3) Vachika Abhinaya :

This *abhinaya* deals with the use of speech in theatrical representation. This would include the *svaras* (the musical notes to be used in the songs, playing of instruments etc.) *sthana* (pitches), *kaku (intonation)* etc.

(4) Aharya Abinaya :

This *abhinaya* deals with the use of costumes, jewellery, make-up etc. in theatrical representation.

The above study brings home the fact with renewed vigour that as there was a tradition of the science of dramaturgy there developed in India an equally tradition-bound science of dance, both being quite alien to each other, nevertheless running along as two definite distinct streams. With the passage of time, unfortunately for India, one of the streams — drama — all but dried up. But the mainstream of dance continued to flow and still does. It has been able to do so because of the very definite set of rules guiding its scientific presentation thereby maintaining its exqusite beauty — our classical dances *(shastriya)*. It must be noted here that the subsequent texts merely added to our re-interpreted Bharata's basic guidelines, they did not deviate substantially from the Natya Shastra indicating the fact of the continuing tradition without noteworthy changes. There were of course additions to the original rules as and when the need arose in order to accommodate the variations that arose.

This problem brings us to the discussion of *marga* and *desi*. What do these two words denote? *Marga* means the path and *desi* means pertaining to a desa (an area), that is provincial. Here the art, as laid down and propounded by Bharata, is *marga art* — that which shows the pathway, the high road, to be trodden for the practice and the successful presentation of this art. It is an idealistic treatise, laying down the rules for an ideal art.

Bharata's *marga,* idealistic art, remained enshrined in the Natya Shastra. Bharata very often implies to this fact. He lays down the generalised rules — the idealised rules and then very promptly states that these are to be presented on the stage according to the *pravritti* of a particular area or province. This brings us to *desi.*

Thus, in the first instance, *marga* means that which has been laid down by Bharata as the dicta governing the practice and product on of *natya* in general and is ideally to be applicable to the entire country. *Desi* is the provincial practice which is in vogue in a particular area, and thus cannot be generalised or standardised since it varies from area to area.

Examined against this background one begins to appreciate the unity in diversity of the contemporary classical Indian dances. In this context it would be wrong to adhere to the old four-fold classification of the major dance styles namely Bharata Natyam, Kathakali, Manipuri and Kathak. Today the scholars have already accepted the claims of three lesser known styles to be recognised as classical. They are Odissi, Kuchipudi and Mohini Attam. And the doors will have to be kept open for any other style that satisfies the basic requirements to be termed a classical one.

All these dance styles sprang from different areas of our country and are the products of the culture of a definite ethnic group. And yet all trace the root source of their origins to the technique of *natya* as first codified in the Natya Shastra. The unifying element is the common *marga* principles; the diversifying elements are the language, musical mode, body, kinetics and the overall aesthetic principle being followed. Let us have a brief introduction to each of them.

Kathak :

This vibrast dance style is very widely practised in the northern provinces of India. As such it has a very strong Muslim influence in costuming and overall aesthetics. The songs are in the Hindi dialects and very naturally the music is Hindustani mode. Kathak is noted for its fascinating and scintillating

footwork which weaves out cross tempo through the sound of the bells.

Manipuri :

This style is noted for its ethereal grace and deep religious fervour. Largely practised in Manipur and the surrounding north-eastern states, this dance style is almost a way of life. Almost everyone dances it as a part of worship which is predominently Vaishnavite. The songs are in the local language — Maiteyi — and almost always depict the episodes from Krishna's life.

Odissi

As the name indicates this dance style is indigenous to Orissa, where there is a blend of the northern and the southern cultures. This dance style is akin to Bharata Natyam and yet it has a technique all its own. Regularly performed in the Jagannatha temple its traditional repertoire is almost exclusively made up of Jayadeva's Geeta Govinda, the exquisite love lyric immortalising the divine love of Radha and Krishna. As such it has tremendous sensuous grace and yet is extremely statueque visually, reminding one of the Konaraka sculptures.

Bharata Natyam:

The most popular dance style today, it is a shining example of the beautiful synthesis of the Dravidian and Aryan cultures. It is the most balanced style, laying equal emphasis on nritta as well as nritya. A solo art, it was exclusively performed by the Devadasis as a devotive offering in the South Indian temples. The songs are in Telugu and Tamil and the musical mode is pure classical Carnatic. A wide variety of items can be found in its repertoire — majority of them devotional and yet some exhibiting earthy secular fervour.

Kuchipudi :

This is more of a dance drama than a solo dance style which makes a judicious use of dance, song and spoken dialogues. It is termed as a "dance style" since the dance interludes predominate throughout the performance. It originated in Kuchipudi village in Andhra Pradesh and employs Telugu and Sanskrit languages. The musical mode is Carnatic and yet one can discern a distinct folk influence in both its music and dance.

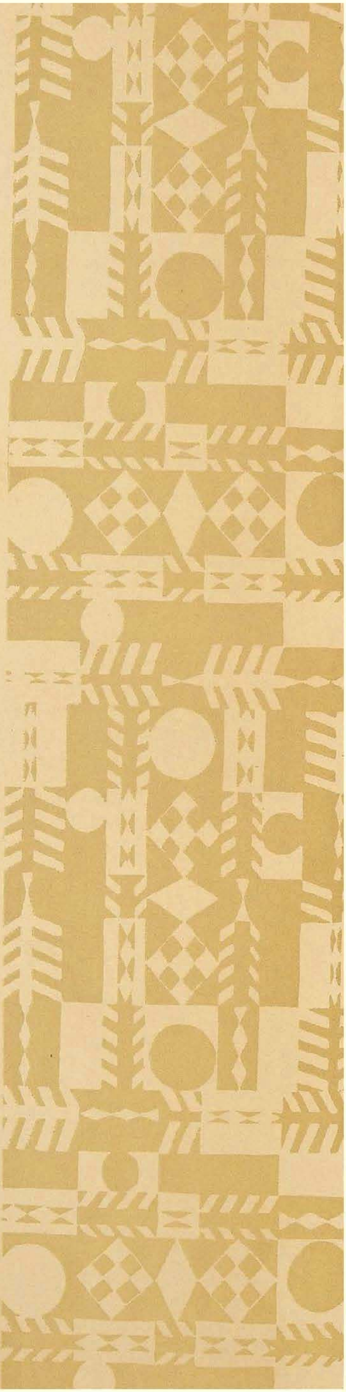
Kathakali :

The most majestic of theatrical spectacles, this form should rightly be called "story-dance" of Kerala. Embodying within itself the highest norms of classical Nayashastric tenets, it very surprisingly, also employs the animistic practices and rituals of Kerala's very strong prehistoric tribal culture. The themes for its representation are from the two epics Mahabharata and Ramayana and from the Puranas. Employing fantastic make-up patterns, towering head gears and billowing skirts the actor—dancer, by his superb "acting", transports the spectator to a world peopled by gods and demons — where good is always victorious over evil. The stories are in Manipravalam but the musical mode is called "Sopana" peculiar to Kerala only.

Mohini Attam :

Most lyrical of our dance styles, Mohini Attam also comes from Kerala but is a delicate solo art to be performed by women. Not necessarily a devotional art, it has devastating charm which is quite deceptive. In fact it is a highly classical dance style, very difficult to master. Its dance units are almost exclusively the *nritta karanas* of the Natya Shastra performed in its peculiar spiral kinetics. The *nritya* is more stylised than in other dance styles execepting the theatrical Kathakali. The musical mode is pure Carnatic and the songs are in Manipravalam, Telugu and Sanskrit.

1. The Dance of Life — p-35
2. Advanced History of India by Nilakanta Shastri and Srinivasachari—p-21.



PANORAMA OF INDIAN THEATRE

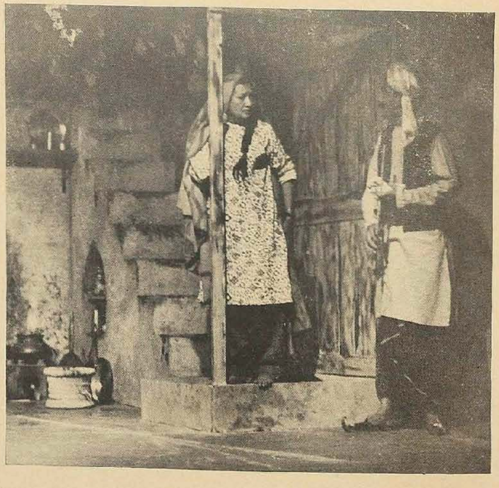
DNYANESHWAR NADKARNI

72. 'Sangya-Balya' (Kannad Play)

73. 'Pagla Ghoda' (Gujrati Version)

74. Balgandharva in 'Menka' (Marathi Play)

75. 'Ek Chadar Mailisi' (Hindi Play)



Panorama of Indian Theatre

Dnyaneshwar Nadkarni

With the triumphant European tour in 1980 of the Marathi play, *Ghashiram Kotwal*, the attention of an intelligent section of the theatre-going public of the Western world was focused for the first time on contemporary Indian theatre. Jabbar Patel's production of the Vijay Tendulkar play fuses together tradition and modernity in a unique way. *Ghashiram*, with all the distinctness of its theme and style, thus reflected the most significant aspects of the Indian theatre of our times.

Like all the world's most active theatres, the Indian theatre can also trace a history going back to the early centuries. The origins of the Indian theatre show it in a cohesive and unified form, working through the medium of the then ruling Sanskrit language. Chronological definition is a little vague in these matters. At some distance from the Vedas and epics like the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, the play was born and began by right to derive its plots from these sources. Bharata, a great sage who lived ten or fifteen centuries ago, laid down the laws of dramaturgy in his *Natyashastra*. The exact origins of Indian theatre were not known even to him. What we do know for certain is the give-and-take which prevailed between the canons of the *Natyashastra* and the formal structure of Sanskrit drama.

Kalidasa, Bhasa, Bhavabhuti — these are the great names among early Sanskrit dramatists. When the Europeans began to discover the beauties of the Indian theatre, it is the Sanskrit classics of these writers which attracted them first. The two strands of theatre, viz., classical and folk theatre, which were to make themselves apparent even in later centuries existed with all their contrasts even in the first years of the Indian theatre. There is enough evidence to show that long before Bharata and the heyday of Sanskrit drama, plays existed in Prakrit and in dialects.

Kalidasa's *Abijnanashakuntala* was the Sanskrit play which enthralled Goethe and underwent more than one translation in the 19th century in English and other European languages. Bhasa, an unruly genius influenced by the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, was not discovered till the early decades of this century. Bhavabhuti, the third partner of this great triumvirate, also derived his themes from the *Ramayana*. There is some controversy about their

recourse to Sanskrit, a language dying in usage. The defenders of the Sanskrit dramatists say that a spoken language cannot necessarily become the vehicle of literature, that its vocabulary is limited. They argue that, by writing in Sanskrit, these dramatists actually helped enrich the people's language.

Although writing on the basis of characters introduced by the *Ramayana,* Bhavabhuti tried to project the dilemmas of his own times. And so did Vishakhadatta, whose *Mudrarakshasa* is set in the historical times of Chandragupta's Magadha empire. Shudraka's *Mrichchhakatika* has a sub-plot clearly reflecting experience of political unrest and revolution. Sanskrit drama thus comes of age with these later dramatists.

Sanskrit plays continued to be written till the 17th century, and even later; but many of them were imitations of Kalidasa or Bhavabhuti. The decadence of Sanskrit drama had already started by the 10th century. Sanskrit itself was falling into disuse and in different regions well-established dialects known as the *apabhramshas* of Sanskrit were emerging. Within the next five centuries, these were to develop into languages with their own identities.

During these intervening years, drama existed only as a form of poetic recitation. The itinerant bards who undertook this were the *Charanas.* In a more elaborate form, a female singer-cum-dancer accompanied his performance. Gradually, a form of dance-drama was developed. The *Charanas* depended mostly on the stories from the mythological epics for their narrative and performance. They staged their shows for all classes of audiences and fulfilled an educative function. Even when legitimate theatre began to function again, the bard in one form or another continued to play and recite in all corners of the country.

The influence of the Vaishnava Bhakti cult is evident at this time, especially in the development of folk plays. The *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* had always been the main inspiration behind folk drama. Those who wanted to promote the cause of religion through theatre found ready-made material in these epics. Dialogue written in a metrical form was a distinguishing feature of the folk plays. The Vaishnavaites had a singer called *Bhagawata* who could sing the entire text of the play, and he was supported by a chorus.

The Vaishnavaites also popularised the theme of Krishna and Radha. Jayadeva's *Geet-Govinda,* devoted to this theme, was a popular dance-drama written in Sanskrit and staged in the 12th century. The saint poets, being steeped in Sanskrit, scrupulously observed the laws of the *Natyashastra* even when writing folk plays. The Vaishnava play or the Harikatha was usually staged in a temple yard or in the house of a religious-minded patron. The *Charana,* on the other hand, was not deterred if these were not available; he performed in the open space at the village cross-roads. He also took care to choose the period between the harvest and the sowing operations as the most suitable from the point of view of audience response.

Over the centuries, folk drama has flowered out in this country in a number of different directions. We shall consider here some of the prominent regional forms which have kept alive through the vicissitudes of political turmoil or economic deterioration.

Karnataka's *Yakshagana* emerged probably around the 12th or 13th century. This was at the time of the revival of Vaishnavism. The themes of the *Yakshagana* are chosen from the epics, with a preference for episodes of fighting. The Bhagawata is the main narrator-cum-singer. The form of the performance broadly follows the structure laid down by the *Natyashastra.*

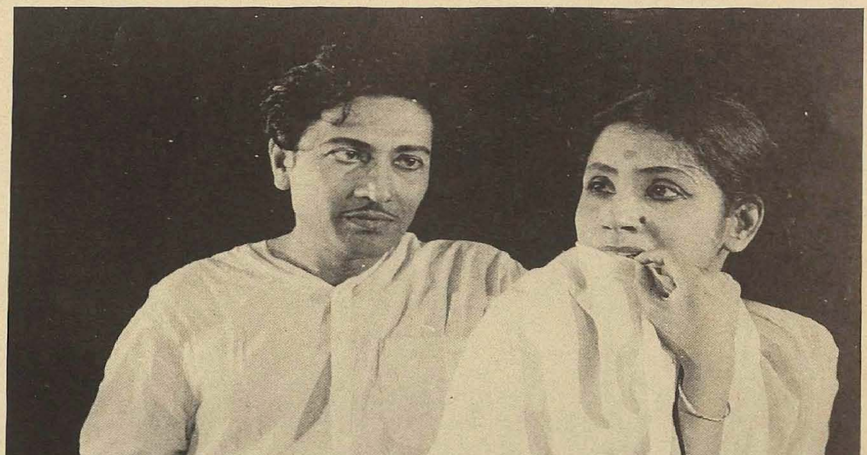
While the Bhagawata is the all-knowing, respectable, master of ceremonies, among the other interesting characters of *Yakshagana* we have the Hanuma Nayaka or Kodangi. He represents the audience and has the freedom to dress in a contemporary fashion. He is the farceur of the play, the descendant of the Sanskrit Vidashaka. Colourful costumes, weird masks, exuberant acting — all these are standard elements of a *Yakshgana* performance. With some variations, it is also performed under the name of *Bayalata.*

To Western audiences, the form of *Kathakali* which is rooted in Kerala is much better known. This is more a dance form than one which can be strictly considered drama. It is older than the *Yakshagana.* Its basic conception is not so much to depict a story or a theme as to express the sentiment of *veera rasa,* i.e., bravery or martial spirit. As early as the second century, a caste known as *chakkiyar* was supposed to practise a form of drama called Koodiyattam. This form was less of drama and more of expressing different emotions by *mudras* (gestures). Kathakali is a refined offshoot of Koodiyattam, which used songs in Sanskrit and is thus called the last extinct form of Sanskrit theatre. Using an elaborate and stylised make-up and costumes, the Kathakali actors work through the exaggerated sentiments of the performance and churn up the emotions of the audience. The loud clanging of cymbals adds to the dramatic impact. India has in Kathakali an exact parallel to Japan's Kabuki, perhaps the only instance in which the country has succeeded in harnessing the discipline of classical dance to a dramatic expression involving more than one character.

In the wake of the Harikatha, Andhra Pradesh developed a form of popular dance drama called *Bhama-Kalapam.* The performance revolves round the story of Krishna and his favourite consort, Satyabhama.

76. 'Ghashiram Kotwal' (Marathi Play)

77. 'Char Adhyaya' (Bengali Play)



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78. 'Mudrarakshasa' (German Version)
79. 'Khandobache Lagin' (Marathi Play)
80. 'Chakbhang Madhu' (Bengali Play)

80

The manner in which a mock quarrel goes on between the lord and his beloved wife makes for a dramatic experience on the stage. As with the other folk theatre forms hitherto described, the *Bhama-Kalapam* also has an offshoot, called the *Parijata-ata* and practised in Karnataka. As for a purer form of Harikatha, the Telugu language has retained it in its *Burrakatha,* in which the main reciter is helped by two others. Puppet plays of one sort or another are often woven into these rural performances.

As we move towards the eastern regions, we find the Chau dancers of Orissa can trace back their lineage to a mythology-oriented dance-drama form called *danda-nata*. By far one of the most dynamic folk theatre forms flourishes in Bengal. The region's great saint, Chaitanya (1486-1534), had used the existing *yatra* form to preach to the people his cult of Bhakti in a powerful manner. A *yatra* or jatra originally means a religious procession. Over the centuries both the content and the appeal of the *jatra* play have undergone vast changes. The form is still used to influence the mass mind but today political themes are dramatised on the *jatra* stage and presented in a hypnotic manner.

Among recitative folk theatre forms, the Bhand of Kashmir continues to seek new interpretations. More widespread in its appeal, despite a professional disintegration over the years, is the *tamasha* of Maharashtra. Apart from stylised song and dance, it features horseplay and satire on a large scale. At one time, the *tamasha* had encouraged a worthy tradition of *laavni* (semi-erotic song) composition but the exigencies of modern audience demand have forced the performers to surrender to cheap cinema tunes. To a certain extent, the *tamasha* has been successfully adapted to present political satire although professional productions have attained a gloss which is more urban than rural.

During the past few years, the folk theatre as well as the Sanskrit theatre has been re-assessed by creative experimentalists of the contemporary Indian stage. Strains from both these traditions have fused into the techniques developed by a contemporary consciousness. *Ghashiram Kotwal* is one example of this process. We shall try to pinpoint others after getting to know the Indian theatre of our own times.

The status which Kalidasa, Bhasa and Bhavabhuti had brought to Sanskrit drama went into a decline lasting more than a thousand years. During this period Sanskrit deteriorated into a book language, alienated from the common people as much as the court languages of the Mughal emperors who ruled India till the beginning of the 18th century. It was also during this period that flickerings of the folk theatre remained evident and theatres in various parts of the country began to assume a regional identity.

Indian theatre as we know it today was born in the early years of the 18th century. By this time the East India Company had started consolidating its influence and the intelligentsia had begun to acquaint itself with the English language. Maybe because the British had settled in Bengal much earlier than in other parts of the country, theatrical activities began there ahead of other regions. On November 7, 1795 two English comedies translated into Bengali by Herasim Lebedeff, a Russian, and Goloknath Dass were staged in Calcutta. After this event there was a gap of nearly four decades but what began in 1831 was production of English plays, albeit by Indians.

In 1843, the Raja of Sangli in south Maharashtra commissioned one of his proteges, Vishnudas Bhave, to produce and stage a play. This, called *Seeta Svayamvar,* is considered to mark the birth of the Marathi theatre. Vishnudas had seen the *Yakshagana* of Karnataka and this, together with Maharashtra's *Dashavtar,* dictated the form of his play. It was, of course, a fairly crude form, a type of play in which the Sutradhara monopolised all the singing and delivery of the dialogue. It was some time before the play as we know it today was developed in Maharashtra.

In the 1850's, Bengali intelletuals occupied themselves mostly with translations from English and with an occasional indigenous effort. Ram Narayan Tarkaratna's *Kulinakula Sarbasva,* staged in 1857, is considered the first Bengali play. There were pioneering efforts seen elsewhere. In 1853, Amanat, a court poet of Wajid Ali Shah, the last Nawab of Oudh, wrote *Inder Sabha,* all in verse, and this was produced in Lucknow. In the same year the Parsi Natak Mandali was founded. Both these events were to influence developments in the near future.

The decade after the 1857 War of Independence saw the staging of many plays in Bengal and Maharashtra. A public theatre had been built in Calcutta in 1872, and performances in this city and in Bombay attracted cosmopolitan audiences. One of the Most significant and pioneering Bengali plays was Dinabandhu Mitra's *Neeldarpan* (1860). It dealt with the callous oppression of Indian labourers by European indigo planters. At last it was realised that the theatre could hold up a mirror to contemporary social conditions.

This realisation was most succinctly seen in the Hindi plays of Bharatendu Harishchandra who lived in the latter half of the 19th century. He had a keen sense of dramatic technique, far in advance of his times. Among the 20 plays he wrote, most are one-act pieces and adapted from Sanskrit or Bengali, but he also wrote satires like *Andher Nagari* which pertinently commented on his times. He was him-

self a theatre entrepreneur and the performances he staged experimented with from in a bold manner.

Among the earliest professional troupes in the Indian theatre were those run by the Parsis. They staged Urdu plays which were mounted in a breathtakingly opulent manner. Most of these were of the *Inder Sabha* type, pot-pourris of dance, song, melodrama, glittering costumes and imposing decor. The Parsi companies travelled all over India. When, a century ago, they travelled in South India, they inspired dramatic ventures to spring up in Andhra and Karnataka.

The two languages in which professional theatre developed in an impressive way towards the turn of the century were Marathi and Bengali. Critics have tried to relate the advanced state of theatre in these languages to the growing political consciousness of the regions concerned. It is true that the theatre helped these Indians to re-assert their own identity and that through historical and mythological plays they tried to convey a nationalist message.

In Maharashtra, the development of the theatre was influenced by the knowledge which a series of dramatists had of their Sanskrit tradition as well as of Shakespeare and European playwrights. The very first Marathi play which laid the foundations of the musical drama was Annasaheb Kirloskar's *Sangeet Shakuntal* (1880), an adaptation of Kalidasa's Sanskrit *Abhijnanashakuntalam*. Kirloskar, however, gave Marathi musical drama a dazzlingly indigenous form in his *Sangeet Soubhadra*. A play purely of his own invention it humanises the characters of mythology and plants them in a recognisably contemporary environment. This, Kirloskar does without destroying the charm of a mischievious Krishna or the romantic wonder of the elopement of Subhadra with Arjuna. Most important of all, he devised musical tunes for his songs which were catholic in their origin, ranging from north Indian classical music to the music of the South.

Kirloskar also laid the foundations of Maharashtra's great theatrical tradition, organising around him a band of gifted actors, among them a few also remarkable singers. Later, in this same tradition appeared the phenomenal singer-actor Balgandharva who went on to immortalise the heroines of Kirloskar and his followers Deval, Khadilkar and Gadkari. Maharashtra's unique tradition of stage music is also shared by such other luminaries of the past as Keshavrao Bhosale, Bapurao Pendharkar and Master Deenanath. While the tradition is not so rich today as it used to be in the early decades of this century, we still have artistes like Chhota Gandharva deserving of a place in that long line of distinguished singer-actors.

Like Kirloskar, G. B. Deval also tried to create a theatre form of his own. Apart from adapting Sanskrit classics and European plays, he wrote *Sharada*, a classic of simplicity dealing with the theme of a teen-ager's unequal marriage. Ram Ganesh Gadkari was noted for his poetic dialogue and touched a wide range of themes, from social to historical. Starting with historical tragedies influenced by Shakespeare, Khadilkar went on to write romantic musicals suited to Balgandharva's genius. B. V. (Mama) Warerkar proved to be a more durable playwright, working into the post-independence years and surprising his admirers, with his socio-political alertness and his experimental zeal. These dramatists more or less represent the golden years of Marathi drama before it went into a decline in the 1930s. Atre and Rangnekar kept up the fight for survival but it took another two decades for the revival of the Marathi theatre to be firmly launched.

Bengal did not think of a musical genre with the exception of a totally different type of poetic drama nurtured by Rabindranath Tagore. On the Culcutta stage there flourished such great thespians as Girish Ghosh, Sisir Bhaduri and Ahindra Chowdhury. They tried to direct their art towards the naturalistic and were helped in this task by playwrights like Jyotirindranath Tagore and Amritlal Basu. Girish Ghosh, playwright and actor, was a phenomenal personality holding sway over the *jatra* as well as the urban theatre. Modern Bengali playwriting was spearheaded by the talent of D. L. Roy. But the man who cast his shadow permanently on Bengali theatre was Rabindranath.

Rabindranath wrote a type of allegorical and poetic play which introduced a novel form of stylised enactment to the Bengali theatre. He himself participated in the plays which had a large element of choral singing and dancing in them. In the repertoire which Sombhu Mitra developed in the 1940's for his organisation. 'Bohuroopee', Tagore's plays feature as prominently as the adaptations of Ibsen and Sophocles. In a way, Tagore, modern as he is, is a lone figure in the Indian theatre. It was impossible to copy him or to pattern a contemporary form of theatre after him.

Very little achievements can be claimed by the theatre of other regions as it carried on between the two world wars. There are lone fighting spirits such as T. P. Kailasam of Kannada but attempts to produce significant plays are found to be sporadic. We had to wait till the late 1940s for modern Indian theatre to be born and to show signs of growth.

There are many factors which strike us when we study the unique efflorescense of the Indian theatre during the past three or four decades. For the first time, the Indian theatre began to exist as one entity, and in fostering this feeling the movement for revival

of our folk theatre forms played an important role. Secondly, there was a keen exchange among the theatres of the four leading languages: Marathi, Bengali, Kannada and Hindi. The plays of Vijay Tendulkar, Badal Sircar, Girish Karnad and the late Mohan Rakesh began to be staged in translation in these dominant theatre languages. In every way this exchange was fruitful although for some years now it has been on the wane. The third factor which distinguishes this period of resurgence relates to the revaluation of the traditional folk theatre and its harnessing towards contemporary expression. *Ghashiram Kotwal* can again be cited as best representing these three dominent trends in the Indian theatre of our times.

The revival of the Marathi theatre was initially singnalled off by the centenary celebrations of the birth of Marathi drama (1843-1943). However, in the forties, the leading intellectuals of the language satisfied themselves with adaptations of European plays. The tendency to look upon the West for inspiration continued for some time. The first promptings of experimental technique difinitely had a foreign source of inspiration. This was, of course, in no way reprehensible but a natural condition of all such processes. In the fifties, the plays of Vijay Ten-
and Sophocles. In a way, Tagore, modern as he is,
dulkar left the first stamp of literary maturity on Marathi theatre. Traditionalists like Shirwadkar, P. L. Deshpande and Kanetkar also contributed sizably to the professional theatre. Following Tendulkar at some distance appeared the erratic genius of the late Chim Tryam Khanolkar, a supreme poet refusing to be tethered to the laws of theatre.

Marathi theatre also saw a powerful batch of actors and directors who exerted their imagination and put the playwrights on a firm pedestal. Vijaya Mehta, Shriram Lagu and Amol Palekar are among the many who have made a lasting contribution to theatre-craft. Between 1955 and today, *avant-garde* Marathi theatre has developed on a fascinating variety of lines. The early dependence on foreign sources has been replaced by an exploration of indigenous folk theatre forms. Adaptations of Brecht as well as traditional folk theatre expressions like *Khandobache Lagin* now claim a format which makes the best of the flexibility and vitality of the *Dashavtar,* the *tamasha* and other folk forms which had fallen into disuse.

During the past three or four decades, significant men of the theatre emerge in many corners of the country. In Bombay, Ebrahim Alkazi concertedly produced Western classics before taking up the directorship of New Delhi's National School of Drama and revolutionising the national theatre scene. Sombhu Mitra's long reign at 'Bahuroopee' and the many immortal roles which he and Tripti Mitra have projected are well known. Satyadev Dubey revitalised the Bombay theatre, initially working in both Marathi and Hindi. Habib Tanvir presented folk versions of the classics with the help of a highly talented troupe of Chhatisgarhi rural artistes. In the south, more especially Karnataka, directors like B. V. Karanth and playwrights like Girish Karnad and Chandrashekhar Kambar refurbished traditional folk theatre forms and created a dynamic modern theatre. Such achievements can be discovered in a few other parts of the country as well. The picture of the Indian theatre today is of an unprecedented vitality, of a forward thrust never known before.

Contemporary Indian theatre may justifiably be called a theatre of ideas. Vijay Tendulkar's early plays portrayed the dilemmas if the "little man". His one-act plays experimented boldly with form. Plays such as *Gidhade* and *Sakharam Binder* find him preoccupied with sex and violence in a morally corroded society, and his social criticism on the whole becomes almost vitriolic. Khanolkar was not well schooled in the English language but, instinctively, in a play like *Ek Shoonya Bajirao* he projects the fancy of the absurd. In a play like *Avadhya* he presents a long monologue and a daring insight into human perversion. Later Marathi playwrights appear to be rather tame and wel-behaved in comparison with these pioneers. The plays of Jaywant Dalvi probe deep into human psyche while Ratnakar Matkari is versatile in his choice of dramatic situations. That *Ghashiram Kotwal* is not without influence is indicated by Matkari's brilliant innovations in *Lokkatha* '78 a play in which he explores the agony of oppressed classes of our own times most effectively through the use of mime and other suggestive acting techniques.

During the past few years there has been an explosion of young writing talent in the Marathi theatre, and its efforts are expressed through eloquent experimental techniques. The experimental work of contemporary Kannada playwrights and artistes is comparable to that of their counterparts in Maharashtra. Girish Karnad was like a fresh breeze in the airless corridors of commercial Kannada theatre. In a hopeless situation the experimental work of a veteran like Adya Rangacharya had received excessive importance. But Karnad's *Tughlaq* and *Hayavadan* are like stylishly sculpted pieces, exploring history and myth in a novel manner. In *Yayati* he continued with his revaluation of familiar myths. Chandrashekar Kambar with his *Jokumanaswamy* was a worthy follower of this innovative tradition. Performed in a variation of the *Bayalata* style, this play focuses on the oppression of the peasants by the landlords. It has a rich blend of song and dance, humour and melodrama. Equally dazzling are recent stagings of the play *Sangya Balya,* which has continued in

Karnataka in many versions. This story of revenge also throws light on the unequal relationship between landlords and their serfs. Playwrights like P. Lankesh have dealt with dilemmas of the modern world, and today the Kannad theatre presents as lively a scene as the Marathi one.

In Bengal, the leading exponent of a new theatre has been Badal Sircar. His view of theatre has changed over the years and today he renounces most of his early plays. But these, like *Evam Indrajit, Pagla Ghoda, Baki Itihas* and *Tringsha Shatabdi* show a unique preoccupation both with the theatre form and the problems of modern times. Badal Sircar has a genuine sense of the tragic. During the past few years, he has been propagating an open-air staging of plays without recourse to all the usual technicalities taken for granted by theatre people. He stages his performances in fields and mines, in the streets of Caclutta. In this respect his work is comparable to that of the American, Richard Schechner, whom he accompanied during one of the latter's tours of Bengal.

Not as prolific and as versatile as Sircar have been some earlier Bengali playwrights, and these include Bijon Bhattacharya, Mohit Chattopadhyay and Manoj Mitra. Particularly dynamic is the latter's *Chak Bhanga Madhu,* a story of village folk realistically staged by the Theatre Workshop. On the writing and performing side, Utpal Dutt presents a picture of rabid, ideologically motivated, theatre — but a theatre of ideas all the same. In comparison, Sombhu Mitra's loyalty to the classics appears somewhat bourgeois and equivocal. In the Bengali theatre, Brecht has many protagonists, chief among them being Ajitesh Bannerjee. Only recently, there were two productions of Brecht's *Galileo* to be seen in Calcutta, one starring Sombhu Mitra in the title role and the other, his one-time protege and now contender, Kumar Roy.

Many theatre personalities in Bengal alternate comfortably between the commercial stage and the experimental one, sometimes taking time off to join a *jatra* troupe touring in the mofussil. *Jatra* plays share the generally militant political outlook of the Bengali theatre, a phenomenon not witnessed quite as intensely elsewhere in the country.

Hindi, although it is the national language, has not seen after Rakesh's death a playwright of his stature. There is a viable nucleus of experimental producers located in the nation's capital. The National School of Drama has its own repertory and it tries valiantly to stage Hindi versions of foreign classics as also of Indian plays. As its director, Alkazi gave shape to the entire theatre movement in New Delhi. In recent years, directors like B. V. Karanth and Rajinder Nath have staged meaningful experiments although neither has been able to discover a bright new playwright. Dramatic activity in other major languages of India is not totally free of commercial dominance. Experimental efforts in Gujarati or Punjabi, for instance, are few and far between.

Contemporary Indian theatre works against several odds. Very few troupes can have a professional status. The National School repertory is heavily subsidised. In this sense experimental actors in Bombay, Calcutta and New Delhi are all amateurs or, rather non-professionals. All over the country there are very few theatres which experimentalists can fruitfully use. A vital section of the Marathi experimental theatre stages its shows in Bombay in a dingy school hall. The Prithvi Theatre Workshop in north Bombay has been a welcome step and has logically become the centre of experimental Hindi theatre. We can only pray, even if vaguely, for better material conditions to emerge for a cherished dramatic tradition.

INDIAN CINEMA
PAST AND PRESENT
BUNNY REUBEN

81

81 'Alam-Ara' — Prithiviraj & Sushila

82 'Hunterwali' — Fearless Nadia

82

83

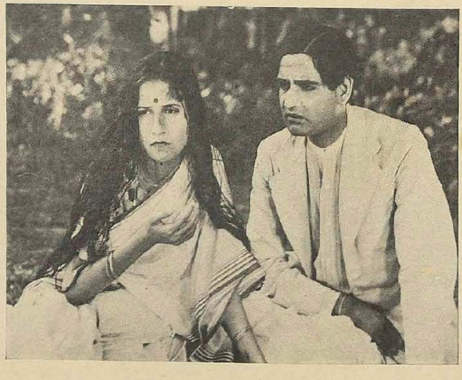
83 'Aadmi' — Shanta Hublikar

84 'Raja Harishchandra'
Dabke & Salunke

85 'Devdas'
K. L. Saigal, Jamuna

84

85



Indian Cinema : Past and Present

Bunny Reuben

The Indian film industry which celebrates the Golden Jubilee of the Indian "talkie" in 1981, has grown so huge in the past two decades and has put forth so many off-shoots such as regional-language cinema, parallel cinema, art-cinema, and so forth, that it is impossible to contain its history in anything less than a mammoth-sized volume.

Yet the mainstream of Indian cinema is commercial cinema and that is the cinema whose history I propose to trace, briefly, in the following pages.

And what, if one attempts to condense everything important into a single opening sentence, is the most important fact concerning Indian cinema?

This most important fact is . . .

Indian cinema today is what it is because IT IS THE ONLY MASS ENTERTAINMENT AVAILABLE TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE (I do not quite like the use of word "masses" here because it is one of those words which have been continuously abused in socio-political contexts).

In the west and in the highly industrialised nations of the East such as Japan and Australia people have dozens of other first-rate entertainments available, from television to night-clubs, circuses and ice-revues and video, musical revues to stage-shows, from live-action porno to the race-track, and from Disneyland to Disneyworld, an exciting cavalcade of entertainments and excitements that do not need you to be locked up in a darkened auditorium for three to four hours at a stretch.

Till today, we in India do not have these exciting varieties of entertainments to choose from. Television came very recently to India, and its most successful programs are still those which are Indian-film oriented.

For this reason, literally "everything" is crammed into a single Indian film, so that the ticket-buyer can, in those three magic hours he is imprisoned in that darkened auditorium, feel happy that he has enjoyed, via the motion-picture, a wide variety of allied entertainments such as songs and dances, fights and chases, laughter and tears, melodrama and thrills, suspense and sensation, magic and mythology, history and hysterics.

Because of being the only entertainment available to the people, because of having to cram literally

"everything" into its footage, the Indian cinema has grown into an amorphous giant, a giant at which the pseudo-intellectual film buffs snigger but which is nevertheless the only mirror we have today of both the Indian reality and the Indian unreality.

Yet there is no other art-form in India today that has grown so big so fast, that has acquired such a long history, such a vital heritage. Today, India produces numerically more films than any other country in the world. Not only that, the Indian cinema is a dynamic, growth-oriented art industry. And, for the foreseeable future, it is still going to be the only form of entertainment available to the Indian people.

It is in this context that the overseas visitor must understand and come to terms with Indian cinema.

The Beginning

For those who love facts and figures, let's get started with a few . . .

Cinema was first imported and exhibited in India on July 7, 1896.

It was brought to Bombay (India's most dynamic city which has in subsequent years become India's Hollywood) by the touring agents of the Lumiere Brothers of France, those pioneers of moving-pictures who had only a year previously, held their first public exhibition of their new invention in Paris.

The show, held in Watson's Hotel in Bombay, became India's first film-show. It consisted of small items such as "Arrival of A Train", "The Sea Bath", "A Demolition," "Workers Leaving the Factory", and "Ladies and Soldiers on Wheels".

There were four shows a day at an admission-price of one rupee per person. Within four days there was a change of program with new items from the vast repertoire of the Lumieres.

From July 14, 1896 the Lumiere program began to have a simultaneous run also at the Novelty, a theatre which regularly staged dramas. Each show contained a dozen pictures. After a while, the management, keen to the needs of its audience, very considerately provided Special Boxes reserved for ladies in 'purdah and their families.

A month after these shows began in Bombay the enterprising show folks added music all on their own — music was played in the theatre under the direction of an Englishman; one Mr. F. Seymour Dove while the images flickered on screen. The number of items per show had gone up to twenty.

On all the thirty-five days of its initial program in Bombay, the Lumiere brothers' shows ran to "House Full" audiences. It finally ended on August 15, but it was not the last that audiences in India had seen of the cinema — though there were no more such film-shows for the rest of that year.

The earliest short films to be photographed in India were by unknown foreign cameramen in 1897.

Foreign operators who came with their projectors and film reels to make money in such an enthusiastic entertainment-crazy land found that India had a wealth of scenic beauty. Promptly, the most enterprising of them filmed India on their reels. Among the first two films of this type are "Coconut Fair" and our "Our Indian Empire". Both were made in 1897 by unknown foreign (non-Indian) cameramen.

More and more cinema-shows came into India now. In Calcutta, one Professor Stevenson made a big splash by bringing the first 'Bioscope' show there in 1898 where at the Star Theatre, *screenings were held at the tailend of the popular stage-plays.* (Note this. It is important so I have put it in italics. In India, cinema got tagged onto and became a reflection of the already powerful theatre (stage) tradition. For several years India's most memorable films were "filmed theatre").

From here the worthy Professor moved on to filming his own reels. Almost simultaneously another professor in Bombay, one Professor Anderson, was doing the same thing. He made and screened "Train Arriving at Bombay Station" and "Poona Races 1898" in which he covered the Governor's Cup.

In early 1899 Mr. P. A. Stewart who was holding his shows at the Tivoli Theatre, was doing good business with reels depicting Indian scenes and backdrops which, he went on record to say, were "simple, excellent and always obtained thunders of applause."

The first Indian to make his own silent films in 1899 *was Harishchandra S. Bhatvadekar, popularly known as Save Dada.*

Save Dada was a still-photographer and equipment dealer, having his shop-cum-residence near Kennedy Bridge in Bombay. He had already entered the exhibition field and with a hand operated projector he used to show imported reels of short films in schools, colleges, some public halls and wealthy private homes.

Then he imported a camera, a Riley camera from England, and set forth to make his own "shorts". Getting two popular wrestlers together he filmed their bout and called it "The Wrestlers". It is a matter of history that Save Dada was the first Indian to can really indigenous celluloid footage and the English and Gujarati-language newspapers of November| December 1899 have given coverage to Save Dada's cinematic efforts.

Within four years of its inception at Watson Hotel in Bombay, celluloid moving pictures had become the same sort of craze in India that video has become in the Eighties. And the journey from 1899 to the 1980s is a long and fascinating story, a story I shall

attempt to cover as concisely as possible in these pages. . . .

RELIGIOUS TRADITION

Even as the old century was dying out moving pictures had caught the fancy of Indians, and films were being imported rapidly into the country.

The New Year's Day, January 1, 1900 was heralded in Bombay with a program of twenty-five shorts at the Tivoli Theatre. Even then, what was being offered was a mixture of imported and locally made ones.

Hot on the heels of Save Dada came F. B. Thanawala, a Muslim electrical engineer who had a shop in Kalbadevi where he sold projectors, phonographs and so forth. Thanawala too made his own reels on Bombay's life and events and presented them as Thanawala's Grand Kinetoscope.

In 1901 the cinema bug spread to Bengal. Hiralal and Motilal Sen, two brothers in Calcutta had since the previous year, been exhibiting imported films at Calcutta's Classic Theatre. *The foreign celluloid items were exhibited at the end of the popular Bengali stage plays.*

Even though they made their own shorts, the Sen brothers of Calcutta stuck to their more lucrative business of exhibiting imported films.

In all this frenetic celluloid activity the foreign films gained a strong foothold with the strongest being, eventually, that of Hollywood.

Amongst the earliest imported movies which Indians saw were (Bombay : January 1898) "The Death of Nelson", "Noah's Ark" and "Call on London Fire Brigade" and (Calcutta : January 1901) Georges Melies' "Joan of Arc", imported from Europe by the Minerva Theatre and shown through Syd Harding and the American Cineograph Company. This film was one thousand feet long — the longest single movie shown thus far in India.

This was followed by the screening in October 1901 in Bombay of "Life of Christ". It was this touching passion-play which, when revived in later years, was to provide the inspiration to D. G. Phalke known today as the Father of the Indian film-industry to make his now immortal feature films.

Something important was happening. Something significant. On the one hand, all the movies being made abroad were being brought into India and lapped up by eager audiences. On the other hand, the most enthusiastic amongst us who were inspired by what was happening, and what they were seeing, were beginning to make movies of their own, movies based on Indian themes and motifs, but following the techniques of the West.

Movies made in the West were thus the "School" for India's earliest movie-makers. The techniques of the West used to portray the themes of India thus became the first vital base of the rich heritage of the Indian cinema of today.

India's well-known film-historian Feroze Rangoonwalla in his admirable book "75 years of Indian cinema" (1975) has dwelt at length on the early history of cinema in India and I am indebted to him for much of the preceding material.

However, it is time to move beyond the mere chronicling of film facts, to know how and why Indian cinema became the reflection of all that is popular and commercial in Hollywood cinema; and to know how — and why — Indian film imbibed all that was best in the commercial Hollywood product to elevate the technical and artistic standard of its own product.

The celluloid medium came in from the West. This is historical fact. In India it got inevitably harnessed to the stage tradition which meant, in effect, the religious or mythological tradition, because the stage was then almost wholly the purveyor of the religious tradition.

Thus, R. G. Torney's "Pundalik" released on May 18, 1912 at the Coronation Cinematograph in Bombay, was based on the legend of a famous Saint of Maharashtra. This was historically speaking, India's first-ever feature film and it preceded D. G. Phalke's 'Raja Harishchandra' by exactly one year.

It also meant that we Indians saw our own first feature film earlier than the Americans who, according to noted film historian Arthur Knight saw the made-in-France "Queen Elizabeth" as their first film only on July 12, 1912.

Two other story films according to our film historian Feroze Rangoonwalla also took precedence over Phalke's 'Raja Harishchandra'. One was 'Savitri' based on the famous mythological tale of Savitri and Satyavan. The other was called "An Episode From Ramayana", released at the Gaiety on November 2, 1912. This depicted Lord Ram in Lanka slaying the demon Ravana.

"Raja Harishchandra" however, which was 3700 *feet long and in four reels, which was released on May* 3, 1913, *is generally considered to be India's first feature film.*

Rangoonwalla says: "The success of RAJA HARISHCHANDRA" firmly and surely laid the foundation of the Indian cinema industry, making the film a commercially profitable proposition. Moreover Phalke, unlike others, kept up the effort by making more films one after another. For about four years he was the only producer in the entire country, except for a couple of ventures tried by others.

"But his most valuable contribution was of laying down the operative norms of Indian films, both in form and content, which are still in use after seventy years. All this legitimately ensures for Dadasaheb Phalke the title of "The Father of Indian Cinema."

His Birth Centenary year, which got over in April 1971, was celebrated through some commemorative gestures like a postage stamp, a statue on the road at Dadar named after him, a documentary film and a published souvenir. *But the film-industry and authorities have yet to provide a lasting inspiring memorial to the man who laid the foundation of such a large industry almost single-handed.*

While the religious tradition seized the new medium in Western India (Bombay) it did the same in Eastern India (Calcutta) too. The first feature film made in Bengal was "Satyabadi Raja Harishchandra" released in Calcutta in March 1917. The instinctive urge to imitate to do almost the same thing that the earlier man had done — because it had been done successfully — is a peculiarly Indian trait with which we have lived from the start of Indian cinema history, to this day!

This was produced by J. F. Madan's Elphinstone Bioscope Company and their film, running to 7000 feet or two hours — the longest Indian feature film till then — was adapted from a stage-play which was then an enormous success.

The making of motion-pictures spread like wildfire to other parts of India too. In 1919 South India's first feature film got produced. Entitled "Keechaka Vadham" and produced by Nataraj Mudaliar, this too was based on an episode from the Mahabharata.

The entire first years of film-making in India thus saw the welding of the celluloid medium to the Indian mythological and religious tradition. It is a tradition that has gone over strongly throughout the decades and given us some of our biggest box-office hits. Indeed, right into the eighties the mythological or religious film is still the biggest money-spinner in the interior of India, where there are yet no theatres and where cinema is still being transported via the touring talkies.

From the twenties Indian film making enterprises gradually took the shape of an industry.

From six to eight films per year, the number rose to 18 in 1920 and 40 in 1921. This jumped double to 80 in 1925 and 172 by 1930 ! By 1918 the Indian Cinematograph Act was passed which provided for the licensing of cinema halls and the censorship of Indian and foreign films.

Creative film-making activity in the twenties clung faithfully to mythology. Yet even in those days a significant 'social' was made. "KABIR KAMAL" depicted the life story of the poet-saint of yore who had preached an ideal Hindu-Muslim union in his life as well as his teachings. This thus became the first film to display a genuine social consciousness and its producers made this manifest by drawing a parallel with the ever vital issue and burning problem of communal unity and harmony in India.

Even while depending on religious and mythological themes for their overall output, some forward-looking makers turned to the events of the day for celluloid material.

The Swarajya (Independence) movement was gaining strength in the country under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Everywhere, young and nationalistic minded Indians were working towards the common goal of shrugging off the British yoke. Reflections of this activity spilled over into cinema too. In 1921 Kohinoor Film Company presented "Bhakta Vidur", a film with a patriotic message under a mythological garb. However, the eagle eyed British Censor caught the message, and banned the film in some provinces !

More and more the film-medium was being used to further the nationalistic movement surging all over the country. Mahatma Gandhi made his first screen appearance in a short film made in July 1921 showing him paying tributes to the memory of that great nationalist leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak and conferring with other leaders in Poona. On Tilak's first death anniversary all the newsreels of the funeral were revived and rescreened in a big way.

A more sensational film followed when under the title of "Great Bonfire of Foreign Clothes" Gandhi conducted a bonfire of these clothes outside the premises of the Elphinstone Mills. Though the sponsors of this particular film (naturally) preferred to remain anonymous, it is interesting to note that the name of the cameraman was given as "the American expert Mr. Jansey !"

This film ran for two weeks at two theatres, Globe and West End, and Rangoonwalla says "there was nothing which the British dominated Censor Board could do about it."

Indeed, political cinema was a rising tide now and persisted right into the 'talkie' era.

Subject-matter inevitably grew broader in spectrum. As myths and legends from Hindu mythology started getting over-exposure, producers turned to tales from history, as well as tales of devotees, poets and saints. Indian (and foreign) classical literature was next on the film-makers' list for subject-matter.

Among the many illustrious names of the period is that of Ardeshir Irani, who entered the production field in 1921-22. He was already into exhibition and distribution. Now he formed Star Films in partnership with Bhogilal Dave who had just returned from America with a Diploma from the New York Institute of Photography and after having stayed and studied in Hollywood too.

Their first film "Veer Abhimanyu" was a spectacular in the Hollywood fashion. Meanwhile, from Hollywood itself came the early Tarzan series starring

Johny Weismuller, the Harold Lloyd comedies, Eddie Polo's films and Charlie Chaplin's "The Kid", followed by such varied foreign fare as "The Three Musketeers," "Cabinet of Dr. Caligati" and Flaherty's classic "Nanook of the North."

Names such as that of V. Shantaram which were to become a legendary part of the rich heritage of Indian cinema now began to make their appearance on the celluloid scene.

From the beginning, the films of Europe and eventually those of Hollywood became the permanent school for motion-picture learning.

New films began to stream steadily into India from Hollywood, so also the early motion-picture equipment came first from Germany and England, and later almost entirely from America because, even in the West, the U.S.A. forged rapidly ahead to become the Number One film-producing nation in the world. Till today, some of the old Mitchell cameras in use in some of the now almost defunct Bombay film-studios are those self-same Mitchell cameras of a long forgotten bygone era.

In like fashion, Hollywood acquired "name" stars and later even a star-system as early as the start of the twenties. Among the earliest star names are those of Patience Cooper and Zubeida, and Ruby Meyers, who went by the screen name of Sulochana. Indeed, such was the Hollywood influence on India's early star-system that it became a popular practice to identify the stars by their American counterparts. As for instance, Ermeline was called the "Indian Mary Pickford" and Nandram the "Indian Eddie Polo !"

By now cinema was a rising tide of enthusiasm in the the country, and film-making centres developed simultaneously in Calcutta, Madras and Lahore (now in Pakistan).

And then, in February 1929, Madan Theatres brought the all-talkie cinema, "Melody of Love" to India. It was the now-famous Vitaphone System movie starring Walter Pidgeon. In December of the same year, the Excelsior Cinema of Bombay brought "Show Boat".

Sound was ready to come to Indian cinema also.

ADVENT OF "TALKIES"

"The most remarkable thing about the birth of the sound film in India," says film historian Rangoonwalla, "Is that it did not come because of the silent films losing their hold and the box-office crumbling as it had happened in other countries, especially America. On the contrary, the silent cinema was at its peak when the talkie revolution came and displaced it swiftly, within two years.

"Even as the talkie machines arrived from abroad and the first sound films reached the screen, the silent period scored the highest production figures in its history, namely 172 films in 1930 and 207 in 1931.

Talents which had already made their mark in silent films began to make their impact in talkies too. In Calcutta, the creative and literary talent of the time got drawn together under the fold of B. N. Sircar who made some significant movies based on literary works.

In fact, the last 'silent' years in Bengal were thick with adaptations from famous Bengali literature. In Madras the accent was still on mythologicals while Bombay concentrated on costume adventures and fantasy, adventures and mythology, and some popular social themes.

In fact, the rising title of contemporary political themes in Indian cinema which had made their appearance to annoy the British rulers now surged forward with full force. Many a film ran afoul of the British Censor.

The most scandalous instance of political censorship occurred in the case of a historical film produced by that famous institution, Prabhat Studios. Entitled "Swarajya Toron" (the Flag of Freedom), it was directed by V. Shantaram who himself played Shivaji in it. The film was a clever allegory on the overthrow of foreign rule but the British Censor would have none of it. After heavy slashing it was allowed as "Udaykal" ("Miracles of the Hills").

It is interesting to pause here and reflect on the state of India's fledgeling but fast growing film-industry at the time of "talkie" arrived in India.

In those days studios were little more than a huge blank space surrounded by four walls and|or curtains with the top left open for sunlight for photography ! Laboratory work was in a primitive stage too.

Yet it is to the credit of Indian technicians that they developed an unusually high degree of gloss by persistent trial and error and by assiduously studying and following the films from Hollywood. The actors and actresses too, had no formal training. For them too, the films of Hollywood were the only 'School.'

The "Star system" as it is known today both in Hollywood and Follywood, had not yet come into being. Though we too had our big Follywood stars, they were all on the Studio payroll, exactly as it had been in the corresponding era in Hollywood. Yet, even while earning modest monthly salaries from the studio-bosses in an era when the Producer was King, Star names like Prithviraj Kapoor, Jairaj, Mubarak, Jal Merchant, the Billimoria brothers D. & E., Ermeline, Rampyari, Jillo Bai, Gulab, Putli, Zebunissa, Madhuri and Lalita Pawar rose to nationwide prominence and popularity.

Films were completed rapidly, mainly from a week to ten days. The average budget was from 20 to 25

thousand rupees and two or three prints were enough for the initial exploitation. Stars and technicians, both were on salary and permitted to work for others by mutual agreement. When that darling of the masses Sulochana was paid Rs. 5000|- for 35 days' work in Baburao Painter's "Love Immortal" it was the highest star-money ever paid. *Passionate kisses and hot love scenes were the usual order of the day, because censorship under the British was mostly political.*

The distribution sector had not yet come into being. Producers took their product directly to the owner of the theatre. The theatre*wallah,* on his part, arranged for the musical accompaniment.

This was as follows:

The tabla and *harmonium* players sat at the foot of the screen on the stage and played music — and even provided sound effects! — according to what was going on, on the screen!

There was also a system of employing a narrator who would stand near the screen and give a running commentary at the top of his voice! Many humorous interludes would result from this — as for instance if the commentator got carried away by what was happening on screen his language would grow progressively more colourful and he would even break out into bawdy language to emphasise what was taking place on the screen!

All this changed overnight with the advent of sound. Ardeshir Irani whose "Alam Ara" opened in Bombay's Majestic Cinema on March 14, 1931 is generally recognised as the "Father of the Indian Talkie".

Irani with pioneering zeal had imported a single-system Tanner recorder and switched over to sound with a vengeance. There were seven catchy songs and the film became a huge hit. Huge crowds flooded the theatre from early in the morning and a flourishing black-market in cinema-tickets was taking place outside the theatre.

Some of the biggest stars of that era — Zubeida, Master Vithal, Prithviraj, Jillo Bai and W. M. Khan — were in "Alam Ara." The film was about 10,000 feet long. Its initial run in Bombay was for seven weeks. It was then taken to other centres with portable projection equipment, then brought back to Bombay after some months and revived successfully.

Twenty-seven talkie films followed close on the heels of "Alam Ara" in the same year, of which three were in Bengali, and one each in Tamil and Telugu.

The advent of the talkie had brought many revolutionary changes in the set-up of the film-industry. The writer, the music-director and those stars who could sing now became the most important pillars of cinema making.

Many silent era stars had fallen on lean days because of their inability to speak dialogue or to sing. Now stage-artistes came into sudden demand, because they could both sing and speak!

Significantly, the advent of sound caused the worst changes in the form and content of Indian cinema of the day. Much of the spontaneous vitality of the silent cinema was lost as the dialogue, the songs, the stagey style of acting, and the new restrictions on camera movements and editing to accommodate the sound, made films very stagey indeed. Writers and directors not yet versed in the new medium took the easy way out and their films looked like photographed stage-plays — which in fact they were!

ERA OF INSTITUTIONS

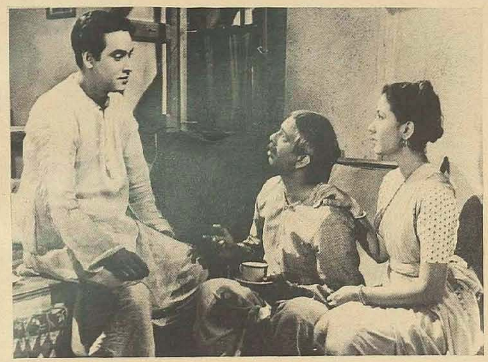
This too changed in time. More intelligent film makers were attracted to the medium. In the early thirties two great cinema institutions grew in strength and they were to dominate the scene for years to come.

One was the Prabhat Film Company in Kolhapur which had such illustrious talents as V. Shantaram (director and actor), Dhaiber (camera), Fatehlal (art-director), Damle (sound) and Kulkarni (business). The other was New Theatres of Calcutta, the famous B. N. Sircar company under whom Bengal enjoyed a golden age of cinema and who discovered the legendary singing-star K. L. Saigal.

In the early years of "sound" most films were consciously patterned on the Hollywood product which by now had become staple fare in India. For instance, Sagar Movietone's "Zarina" directed by veteran Ezra Mir was described as a film made by "a Hollywood director" because of Mir's foreign training. Similarly, Ranjit Movietone, inspired by the popular Laurel and Hardy series, made a similar comedy called "Do Badmash" starring comedians Dixit and Ghory. A. R. Kardar, who made "Heer Ranjah" in Lahore starring the famous singer Rafiq Ghaznavi, employed a Hollywood technician to record the sound and the music for that film.

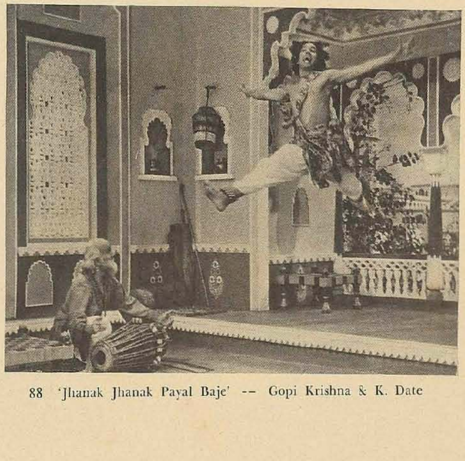
Cinema in India in the mid-thirties was rapidly heading towards its golden era. By 1935-37 India had a string of top stars and many socially-conscious makers headed by V. Shantaram who turned to some of India's most unjust social laws and exposed them on celluloid in a series of daring, unconventional and thematically powerful films which have now gone into permanent record as amongst the all-time classics of Indian cinema.

V. Shantaram and Prabhat, Master Vinayak and the avant-garde Marathi thinkers of the thirties are responsible for giving Indian cinema some of the most socially conscious and thought-provoking films of its now half-century old history. Themes such as widow-remarriage, the evils of the dowry system, caste-



86. 'Parineeta' — Meena Kumari, Nasir Hussain, Ashit Baram

87. 'Mughal-e-Azam' — Dilipkumar, Prithiviraj



88 'Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baje' -- Gopi Krishna & K. Date

89. 'Sujata' — Nutan & Shashikala

90. 'Andaz' — Rajkapoor, Nargis, V. H. Desai.

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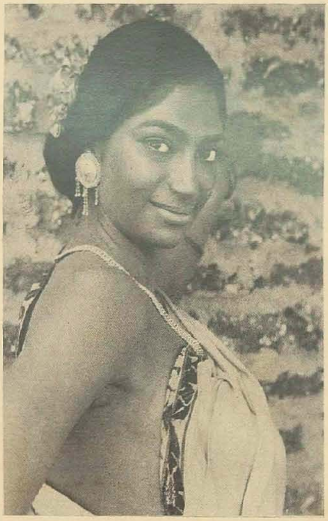
91 'Kalpana' — Uday Shankar & Amala

92 'Apur Sansar' — Sharmila Tagore

93 'Aranyer Din Raatri' — Simi

94 'Mahanagar' -- Jaya Bhaduri, Amit Chatterji, Madhbi Mukharji

95 'Pardesi' — Nargis — Oleg (Indo Soviet Film)



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barriers and so forth, all these social problems and many more, found their way into the films of the thirties and forties.

Though there were many makers functioning in this "thematic" cinema of the thirties|forties, the names of V. Shantaram and Master Vinayak stand out because Shantaram, who is still around till today and a legend in his life-time, made many daring visual experiments in the cinema medium at a time when other film-makers were considering it more than enough merely to tell their story coherently.

In no time at all Shantaram's visual gimmicks and editing techniques resulted in creating a "Shantaram-style" of film-making much in the same fashion that Hollywood presented us with the Alfred Hitchcock style or the William Wyler style. It was a visual style bold and arresting and, as a result, it made Shantaram a god amongst not only lesser film-makers who worshipped him ardently, but especially amongst the vast masses of the middle-class audiences, who worshipped him even more ardently.

Early Shantaram films, especially those upto "Dr. Kotnis Ki Amar Kahani" (about the Indian doctor who worked selflessly in China) constitute a remarkable body of Indian cinema where bold thematic thinking and bold cinema thinking are welded and become one.

In refreshing contrast to Shantaram's approach was that of Master Vinayak who, unlike Shantaram who is today in his eighties, was cut off in the prime of youth. Though both were Maharashtrians, Shantaram made films in both the Marathi and Hindi languages, and later almost wholly in Hindi, whereas Master Vinayak made all his best films in the Marathi tongue. And all his best films were sparkling social satires, telling social comment projected through scintillating comedy.

While this school was giving theme-films to the nation, another brand of film-maker, also influenced and educated by Hollywood, now made its appearance on the Indian film horizon. This breed of film-maker was symbolised by men like Mehboob Khan, Sohrab Mody and A. R. Kardar.

This was indeed the forerunner to the Golden Era of Indian cinema — the years from the late thirties into the mid-forties. This period, and the real Golden Era (from the late forties to the late sixties) when the heavyweight talents like Mehboob, Raj Kapoor, B. R. Chopra, Guru Dutt, Bimal Roy, the Anand brothers, K. Asif, Kamaal Amrohi came to full flower, will always figure as the high points of Indian film history.

In Poona, Prabhat Studios were producing one remarkable, socially-conscious movie after another. New Theatres at Calcutta was transferring all their best authors onto celluloid, and Bombay, with Wadia Movietone, Sagar Movietone, Ranjit, and Bombay Talkies was coming up with a slick song-and-dance patterned cinema which was later to acquire the cast-iron mould of the standard commercial Hindi cinema.

The last years of the thirties marked the completion of twenty-five years of Indian cinema. The Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Indian cinema were held in May 1939.

In its 26th year the Indian film industry was the fourth biggest film industry in the world. It was to go on, in the not too distant future to become third, then first.

"Bigness" in the Hollywood fashion now began to make itself evident in Hindi films. Sohrab Mody, specialising in historical films found "bigness" a natural for his sort of movie-making. And Mehboob Khan, who had already made his impact through the films he made for Sagar, was getting ready to launch out on his own.

The War years in the West hit the Indian film-industry in its gut. Import of the precious raw film on which the very existence of the industry depended became increasingly difficult to obtain. Well-meaning industry heads suggested a voluntary restriction on the length of films. This was a bitter pill to swallow not only because we always tend to make longer and longer films, but because right then M-G-M's immortal hit, the overlong "Gone With the Wind", then in its first release in India at Calcutta's and Bombay's Metro Cinemas, was proving an all-time hit.

By 1943 Indian movies had definitely been curtailed at a maximum length of 11,000 feet. This will seem strange to Westerners, who are accustomed to movies of an average length of 7 to 9 thousand feet. *But remember, because the Indian film has always, by tradition, crammed "literally everything" into its footage, the normal length of feature film to which Indian audience were attuned was from* 14 *to* 16,000 *feet !*

Next, the British Government clamped down a licensing system, and took note of India's indifference to the British war effort as reflected in its films (the Indian National Congress had taken a position of non-cooperation in the War effort unless India was given her freedom). It therefore made compulsory the production of some films to boost the British war effort. Simultaneously, the British Censor became more strict. Nationalistic and patriotic songs, photos of Indian leaders and all references to Gandhiji were forbidden.

Of course, none of the over-zealous British administrators of the forties were to dream that in the eighties it would be an Englishman who would, in association with the ruling Indian Government, be producing the first feature film on the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi for international release!

All India Radio was not allowed to broadcast any

songs referring to Mahatma Gandhi or his struggle for India's freedom. And so forth.

As the war years dragged on, its effect on the industry became worse. Escapist entertainers and musicals flooded the market in 1944. In 1945, the last year of the War, the total production fell to a new low of 99 films, 74 of which were in Hindi. The trend of musicals, romantic melodramas, legends and pseudo-historicals continued, as they were not only box-office gold but also escaped Censor troubles.

The year 1947 was one of great jubilation, when India gained her Independence. Yet there was a darker side too, to this jubilation. Because of the Partition, half the industry's studios and theatres reverted to Pakistan. Then again, though production jumped over 100% to the total of 283 films, of which 182 were in Hindi, quality also fell in direct proportion to the rise in quantity.

The last years of the forties saw what people later realised was the beginning of the real Golden Age of Indian cinema. *Mehboob Khan, already an established film-maker, came forward with that all-time immortal film, "Andaz" which starred three of the greatest Indian stars of all time — Dilip Kumar, Nargis and Raj Kapoor.*

"Andaz" marked India's first completely Hollywood style film. The acting was effortless and natural. The photography (by Faredoon Irani) was high-key and natural, breaking away from the low-key, arty-arty heavy shade and cut-light style of cinematography that had hitherto dominated. And the music (by Naushad) blending Indian instruments into the format of the Western symphony orchestra, is music that lives and is remembered to this day.

Dynamic talents were burgeoning everywhere. On one side the Anand brothers — Chetan, Dev and Goldie — were launching Nav Ketan, a banner which has given India some of her slickest movie entertainers, on another side the eldest son of thespian Prithviraj — Raj Kapoor — had made "Aag" and "Barsaat" and captured the youth of the nation with his charismatic hold on the hearts and souls of the mass moviegoers. Then from the South S. S. Vasan emerged as a genuine showman also in the Hollywood mould with "Chandralekha" and a series of other spectacular films, and triggered the Madras boom whereby the big studio-owning producers of South India entered the all-India, Hindi-language market with films which set new records at the box-offices.

Free-lancing began with a vengeance. Great stars were born. Many of them are dead today, but will always be immortal. Motilal for instance, the first legendary star of the late thirties-through-fifties, was the first actor to make popular a style of his own (which was really quite Hollywoodian in fact) of effortless and "natural" acting.

He created a school of his own, and for years all newcomers were proud to launch their film careers by imitating Motilal. Here was a star in the great tradition of Hollywood's own Golden Era. A man who lived in style, drove a white Packard convertible, spent lavishly at the race-course and on wine, women and song. For years Motilal on his way home in the evenings would stop at the Opera House corner in Bombay and buy cigarettes and so forth at a wayside vendor's, pay with a hundred-rupee note then wave nonchalantly and say: "Keep the change!"

Motilal who died a pauper, was followed by Ashok Kumar, who began as a baby-faced namby-pamby chocolate 'hero' in the thirties-forties and went on to range the gammut of histrionic styles and became the Evergreen Hero of Indian films, a mantle just now taken over by Dev Anand, debonair and sprightly leading-man in his mid-fifties who stars successfully opposite leading-ladies less than half his age!

Following Motilal and Ashok Kumar came the Triumvirate — Dilip Kumar, Raj Kapoor and Dev Anand — three larger-than-life actor-stars who were to bestride the film-industry for over three decades, first as celluloid stars, later as producer-directors and eventually as leaders of their highly disorganised industry.

It was a time of intense creativity.

Men like Guru Dutt and Bimal Roy, Raj Kapoor and Dev Anand were vying with each other to make better and better films within the format of the commercial cinema. This was a time when the mythological and the religious film went into decline and the jazzy, modern social romances and social-comment cinema came into vogue.

THE GOLDEN ERA

The Golden Era of Indian Cinema (chronologically the fifties and sixties) came on the wings of the early films of a young and passionate film-maker named Raj Kapoor.

By 1948 Raj, eldest son of thespian Prithviraj Kapoor, the man who did more than anyone else in his time for the revival of the Hindustani Theatre movement, had already made his first film "Aag". In it he was not only the star, but the producer-director as well.

Heavily laiden with symbolism, etched in low-key tones of highlights and shadows, "Aag" was an allegory on love and idealism. The film fired the imagination of the youth of the country and by the time Raj made his next film "Barsaat", an even more ethereal and passionate love film, he had become the torch-bearer of new cinema in India.

Chembur, a far away, almost jungle suburb of Bombay (which in the following two decades has become the most heavily industrialised suburb of Bombay City with a giant fertiliser complex and two

of India's largest oil refineries) where Raj Kapoor started to build his R. K. Studios in the early fifties, became the Mecca of the young and ambitious film aspirants of the time. Progressive writers both young, and old, aspiring directors and actors, and many more, all thronged around Raj Kapoor. His next film was "Awara." With its socialistic overtones, the freshness and boldness of its treatment and its Hollywoodian polish and gloss, it marked the first emergence of Raj Kapoor as the tramp (modelled on Charlie Chaplin) the 'little man' through whom Raj Kapoor satirised modern life and times.

"Awara" not only made box-office history at home in India, it also opened up Soviet Russia as a rich market for Indian films. With "Awara", Raj Kapoor and his theme-song 'Awara hoon' became the darling of the Russian people. Over the years that song, worded in Russian and other Eastern European languages, even in Egyptian, Turkish and so forth, has become a kind of Indian national song everywhere.

Actually, what the young Raj Kapoor did with his "Awara" and the more senior Mehboob Khan did with his Technicolor romantic adventure extravaganza "Aan" was to rip away the shroud of secrecy from the entire overseas market for Indian films.

Hitherto, a tightly-knit handful of Indians settled abroad (mostly in East Africa and London) had monopolised the business of buying Indian films for 'entire overseas' by paying a mere pittance for each film.

"Awara" and "Aan" which brought very high prices from overseas (in terms of what Indian films were hitherto getting) revealed for the first time what producers were really losing out on. Since then, not only did prices for overseas sales of Indian films increase by leaps and bounds, but many new parties entered the field, offering very lucrative prices.

While Raj Kapoor was blazing trails on one hand, and Dev Anand on the other — and each had huge followings of their own — many fine films were getting to be made by others too. Men like K. A. Abbas, who had written "Awara," Ramanand Sagar, who had written "Barsaat" were making good films on their own. Zia Sarhaddy had made "Hum Log" and "Footpath" for Ranjit, two films with strong socialistic overtones. Guru Dutt had blazed a trail of his own after bifurcating from Dev Anand, and many other ambitious young film makers were venturing out with significant themes on their own. *Guru Dutt in fact, in his brief and intense period of creativity, made some of India's most memorable films before an early death deprived Indian cinema of one of its brightest gems. . . ....*

It is at this time that a quiet and soft-spoken film journalist from Lahore migrated to Bombay to direct films. Named B. R. Chopra, he first made "Afsana", a powerful tale of vendetta and a wife's infidelity. The film became a hit and launched Chopra on a long and successful career of making thematically significant and socially relevant films.

In the decades of the fifties and sixties B. R. Chopra made films on practically every important social issue in modern Indian — the problem of illegitimate children; the burning question of widow remarriage; the uplift of the fallen women; the newly emerging struggle in our country of man-versus-machine; the problems of Hindu and Muslim unity following the Partition of India. These are only some of the burning problems and vital social issues B. R. Chopra tackled in his films.

The most heartening aspect of Chopra's phenomenal rise is that all these films made sense to the mass audience *and clicked.*

Then, at a time when commercial Indian cinema was in the stranglehold of the song-system and at least eight songs had compulsorily to constitute the basic format of every Hindi film, at that time B. R. Chopra made India's first successful songless movie "Kanoon". Another innovation apart from the songless movie which Chopra successfully brought in, was the system of making a film in a couple of months at a stretch.

Over the years the time-honoured method of making Indian films has been to make them spread out over a period of anywhere from eighteen months to three years. Some films due to financial shortcomings, have taken as long as a decade from conception to completion ! Chopra changed all that. 'Kanoon' (in the fifties) and 'Ittefaq' (in the sixties) were two of his earliest films to be made at a stretch in a couple of months. Again in the seventies when the multistarrer grabbed the industry in its stranglehold, Chopra made small-budget movies at a stretch — and they proved box-office successes too.

A rich upsurge of creativity and a wholesome originality marked the best commercial product of the fifties. One of the most important reasons for this was that in 1952 for the first time, an International Film Festival was held in India. And what beautiful films were exhibited in India at that first International Film Festival !

There was the cream of Italy's neo-realistic cinema — 'Bicycle Thief', and 'Miracle in Milan', and 'Open City'. There was 'Yukiwarisoo' and 'Rashomon' from Japan. There were vivid films from Czechoslovakia and Mexico. These were films from different countries, not just from America and England. Our film-makers had their eyes opened. For the first time they saw at first hand what avant-garde directors in countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia were doing with the celluloid medium.

These films had a remarkable impact on the minds of both the cinemagoers and the cinema-makers. 'Bicycle Thief' inspired at least a dozen

Indian films, especially "Boot Polish" which Raj Kapoor produced and which when screened in New York was reviewed by TIME magazine, which called it "a miniature masterpiece."

One of the most important film-makers of the fifties-sixties was the Bengali cinematographer-turned-director Bimal Roy who migrated from Calcutta to Bombay and launched himself as a producer-director in the Capital City of commercial Hindi cinema.

Bimal Roy's debut on the Hindi screen was with a grimly realistic film called "Do Bigha Zamin". Made in the true traditions of Italy's neo-realitic cinema, the film was hailed as an outstanding film which shook the well-entrenched commercial film-makers to the core and caused no less a creative maker than Raj Kapoor to proclaim in banner headlines : "I wish I had made that film !"

Bimal Roy created a body of work which bore his own unique stamp. Many of his films such as 'Biraj Bahu' and 'Parineeta' were based on classics of Bengali literature by Sarat Chandra Chatterjee. Yet these were not mere literary transcription onto celluloid; they were lyrics in the visual medium. In films like "Sujata" and "Bandini" for instance which were not from Sarat Chandra works, Bimal Roy was at his cinematic best.

Unfortunately, an untimely death snatched Bimal Roy also away from the industry in the prime of his creativity, just as it had, earlier, snatched away yet another talented film-maker from Bengal also settled in Bombay — Amiya Chakraborty. That Amiya Chakraborty whose films "Daag", "Patita" and "Seema" are among the immortal films of the Golden Era of the fifties.

And it was not just these few who made the fifties memorable. There was Shantaram and Sohrab Mody, K. Asif and Prithviraj, K. A. Abbas and S. Mukherji and Guru Dutt, all at their best. And then in 1955, India really hit the international map when Satyajit Ray and his "Pather Pancholi" arrived upon the film scene. Too much has already been written about Ray in both the East and the West to elaborate upon his towering contribution to Indian cinema. Suffice it to say that Ray too was yet another bright sun of that Golden Era of Indian cinema.

In 1956 the Indian talkie completed twentyfive years and this Silver Jubilee was celebrated with much clan. It was the year of B. R. Chopra's "Ek Hi Rasta", a thought-provoking film on widow remarriage; of Mohan Segal's "New Delhi" a hilarious satire on the narrow provincialism which separates the people of one part of India from another even today; of Bimal Roy's "Devdas" a tragic love story which is Sarat's literary classic and Raj Kapoor's "Jagte Raho" which in its Bengali version of "Ek Din Ratre" was the first Indian film to win the top Award at a major International Festival — the Grand Prix at Karlovy Vary.

Ray's films 'Pather Pancholi" and "Aparajato" too, were winning International Awards and by 1959 he had completed the famed Apu Trilogy with "Apur Sansar."

It would take volumes and certainly far more space than is available here to chronicle the fascinating details of those two golden decades of Indian cinema. Suffice it to say that the fifties ended in a blaze of glory when in 1960 — at long last the long awaited and magnificently flamboyant historical "Mughal-E-Azam" by K. Asif was eventually released.

NEW CINEMA AND THE FUTURE

The sixties, beginning with the release of the now immortal "Mughal-E-Azam" and culminating in the start of the New Cinema movement, marked the culmination of the Golden Era of Indian Cinema, an era which was to pass forever with the deaths of some of its brightest luminaries such as Guru Dutt and Amiya Chakravarty, Madhubala and Meena Kumari, Jaikishen and Shailendra (and much later, Mukesh, Rafi)

Yet the stamp of these two decades — the fifties and the sixties — is very strong even on the decade of the eighties, and no matter which way Indian cinema develops in the coming years, the men, the women, the music and the movies of those two decades will always shine as beacon lights in the history of Indian cinema.

In 1963 the film-industry celebrated its Golden Jubilee year (just as 1981 marks the Golden Jubilee year of the Indian 'talkie') and that same year Satyajit Ray won the Best Director's Award for "Mahanagar" at the Berlin Film Festival. In 1964 Ray won the same Berlin Award again for "Charulata".

More and more, Indian director and stars had begun to win Awards at Foreign Films Festivals. That doyen of Indian stage and screen Prithviraj, won a Special Award for his performance in K. A. Abbas' "Aasman Mahal" at Karlovy Vary in 1965. That same year Waheeda Rehman won a Best Actress Award at Chicago for her performance in "Guide" while Madhur Jaffrey won the Best Actress Award at Berlin for Merchant Ivory's "Shakespearewallah". In 1966 Ray won the International Critics Prize for "Nayak" at Berlin.

The list is endless. The sixties is studded with Awards and an increased reaching-out of the Indian Cinema to both West and East.

The end of the sixties saw the beginning of a significant trend, a trend which was to come to full flower two decades later, in the eighties — the making of 'off-beat' cinema, 'new wave' cinema, 'parallel

cinema' or call-it-what-you-will cinema in the shape of Mrinal Sen's "Bhuvan Shome."

This venture was financially aided by the Film Finance Corporation and became the forerunner of a series of similar films, off-beat, small-budgeted and sensitively handled which bore the label of the "new cinema" movement.

A delightful film, "Bhuwan Shome" had difficulties in getting commercial release. Yet wherever released the film did well, and it went on to win the President's Gold Medal and another Medal at the non-competitive Venice Film Festival. Another film in the same category was the Gujerati-language "Kanku" made by Kantilal Rathor. Shown abroad, it won the Best Actress Award at Chicago for Pallavi Mehta.

Basu Chatterjee's "Sara Aakash" and Mrinal Sen's "Bhuvan Shome" were the forerunners of the New Wave movement that was to bring in the next decade both greater aesthetic awareness as well as greater financial stability to the Indian cinema industry.

At that time (late sixties|early seventies) the semi-Government body the Film Finance Corporation came under the Chairmanship of veteran film magazine Editor B. K. Karanjia, who made it a firm policy to back low-budget and off-beat ventures.

It started as a trickle. Came 'Sara Aakash'. Came 'Bhuvan Shome'. Came author Rajinder Singh Bedi's "Dastak". These films were liked. Patronised. Talked-about. Written about. What started as a trickle became a steady flow. More and more young and experimental film-makers came on the scene and were able to get FFC backing to make their experimental and off-beat scripts into movies.

Some independent film-makers too sensed and scented the winds of change early. One such was editor-producer I. M. Kunnu who discovered writer B. R. Ishara and launched him on a sensational directorial career, a career marked not only by strong thematic content, not only by films which attacked cant, hypocrisy and the existing social taboos and conventions *but also by the ability to make movies in thirty days at a stretch!*

For the first time in many, many years, here was a maker who proved that films *could* be made with newcomers; films *could* be made on a shoestring budget; films *could* be made in one month at a stretch.

The more enlightened film-makers, men like B. R. Chopra and Hrishikesh Mukherjee, Basu Bhattacharya and Basu Chatterjee, soon made it a practice to make at least one or more such films in any given year.

While the 'smallies' began to attract audience attention the flop of one significant blockbuster in that period gave a further filip to 'new wave' cinema. That flop was Raj Kapoor's three-tiered blockbuster "Mera Naam Joker".

This does not mean however that the blockbuster died out. On the contrary, if 'Mera Naam Joker' flopped, "Ram Aur Shyam" another blockbuster, this one produced by South Indian film magnate B. Nagi Reddi, became a superhit. So did "Upkar," actor-turned-director Manoj Kumar's first film which presented the "Bharat image" in a glossy box-office fashion.

This was a side-by side phenomenon. On one side the established makers of commercial Indian cinema combined to make huge and superhuge blockbusters. Some clicked. Others failed. And by year's end everything generally "averaged out", speaking financially.

On the other side the trickle of 'new wave' cinema that had become a steady flow now became a high tide. Even though some experimental projects backed by the F. F. C. could not fetch back their investments, the fact is that they were encouraging a better class of film to be made, a film of heightened social awareness as well as a film of heightened cinematic awareness. And these films were discovering, unearthing, a 'hidden audience', finding out that there *were* audiences for such films, and it wasn't gospel truth that the makers of bad commercial trash had to make bad commercial trash because "the public want such films."

If I. M. Kunnu 'discovered' B. R. Ishara and gave to the industry a new and daring cinema based on sex and the ripping away of cant and hypocrisy connected with sex, a few years later the Blaze people 'discovered' Shyam Benegal, who had been making advertising 'shorts' for them and who made 'Ankur' under their banner, a film made on a shoestring budget which not only became a hit and established a new director, but which also further strengthened 'new cinema' in the country. *In a handful of years, Shyam Benegal's films have placed him on a par, prestigewise, with Satyajit Ray, both in India as well as on the international map.*

Two other important developments concerning Indian cinema must necessarily be touched upon here or else any survey of the subject would remain incomplete.

First, is the systematic growth of regional-language films due to encouragement from the various State Governments. From the early seventies to the early eighties many State Governments began to give substantial incentives if producers would make films in their States and in the language of these States. Tax rebates, cash incentives, Entertainment Tax refunds, these are only some of the incentives that have caused a sizeable spurt in the growth of the regional langu-

age cinema in almost all the more developed States of the nation.

Second, is the systematic enlarging of their areas of interest — both financial and cultural — of the Central Government in the motion-picture industry. Almost everything connected with the making, exhibiting and export of motion-pictures has come, over the years, under Governmental control.

The Film Finance Corporation, and the Indian Motion Picture Export Corporation are now merged in the overall National Film Development Corporation. The import of raw film is through Government channels; the export of films is through Government channels; and the producer pays Government at every stage of the picture. *Indeed, the position is such that Government may actually be deemed to be the senior partner of all producers engaged in motion-picture production.* However, the ramifications of this are not the concern of this particular survey.

As Indian cinema enters the eighties we still find the same principles in operation which were operative in earlier decades. *From the "Chandralekha" of the early fifties to the "Sholay" of the seventies and the "Naseeb" of the eighties, it is obvious that commercial Indian cinema still has got to cram "literally everything" into its footage if it is to succeed at the box-offices and pay out the various slices to Government, distributor and exhibitor before any returns dribble into the producer's hands.*

The commercial Hindi cinema has bloated to SUPERBIG dimensions. The star-system is more firmly entrenched than ever before, and unlike in the fifties when the stars charged much less and gave a full working day to one producer, today in the eighties the stars charge much more and give two hours in a day to this producer, two hours to that, and two hours to the other producer. As the financial stakes have shot up to astronautical proportions at all stages of commercial Hindi movie-making, so also their quality and content have nosedived into the gutters. *Today, the typical product of commercial Hindi cinema is abysmally BAD, culturally, aesthetically, morally, on every ground conceivable, the Hindi cinema manufactured for the masses is BAD.*

What is heartening however, is the steady growth of the 'smallie' — movies made on modest budgets in a couple of months at a stretch, tackling thought-provoking themes and subjects of topical relevance and contemporary problems.

Not all the films made in the 'smallie' sector may be good. But by and large most of them do have something to say to audiences which are more demanding and mature than those of earlier decades.

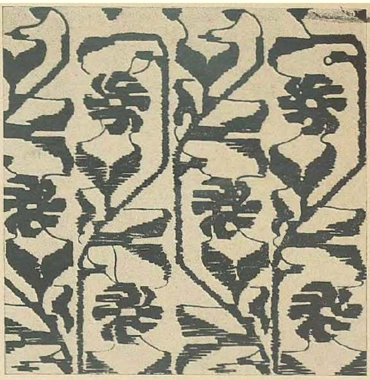
If B. R. Chopra's "Insaf Ka Tarazu", a film which tackles the burning social problem of rape, could become a box-office success, it wasn't because it titillated male audiences, though many of that film's detractors have tried to explain away its success in this way. It was because it compelled audiences to *think*.

If the films of Shyam Benegal and Basu Chatterjee, Sai Paranjpe and Hrishikesh Mukherjee, Satyajit Ray and Mrinal Sen, Basu Bhattacharya and Govind Nihalani are being *sought after* by the audiences of today, that is the most healthy sign of all, because these are the names that are going to place Indian cinema in the history of international motion-pictures forever.

SAGA OF INDIAN TEXTILES
LOTIKA VARADARAJAN

96 Balachar 'Koyari'
97 Kanjivaram Sari Pallav
98 Jamdani (Tanda) U. P.
99 Jain Miniature on Cloth
100 Patola, Patan, Gujrat
101 Kashmir Shawl
102 A Pillar: Ajanta Temple
103 Embroidery from Agra

98



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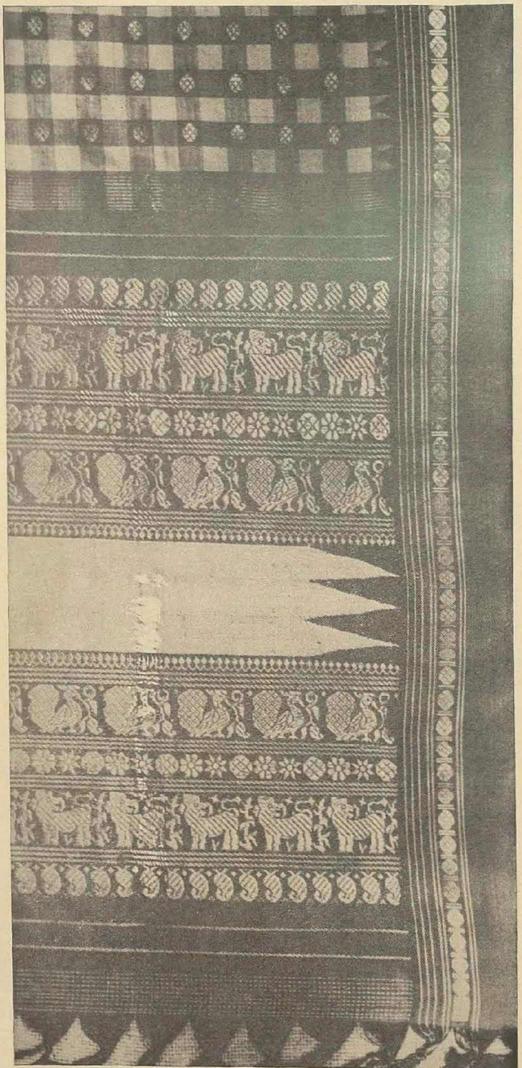

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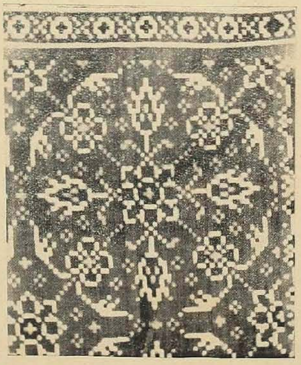

Saga of Indian Textiles

Lotika Varadarajan

Although textiles have received very scant notice in classical Indian treatises dealing with various aspects of Indian art they have played a very important role in the social and economic life of the people.

Very little is known about the beginnings of the textile arts of the country. Archaeological finds of the chalcolithic period at Mohenjodaro and Nevasa[1] show that the technology of madder dyeing of cotton was known to the Indus valley people and that silk had made an entry among the range of fibres used in the Deccan by the second millenium B.C.

Information of a more definitive nature is available from about the seventh to eighth centuries A.D. Dr. Moti Chandra[2] has provided the most comprehensive coverage to date of Indian textiles having exhaustively scanned major available texts in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. While the various kinds of nomenclatures in usage in earlier times points to the availability of a wide range of textiles, descriptive passages begin to have a recognizable meaning from about the time of the composition of the *Harshacharitam* by Bana[3] (606-648 A.D.). Varnak literature such as Varnak Sammuchay,[4] a collection of works dated to between the 15th to the 18th century, poems such as *Mamerun* by Premanand[5] dated to the last quarter of the 17th century provide ample information about contemporary textiles.

In a discussion on Indian textiles certain basic features have to be kept in mind. Although stitched clothing has existed since early times the basic tradition has been that of unstitched garments. Unstitched garments lend themselves to a uniformity in pattern irrespective of the specific usage to which they may be put. The dilution of craft tradition in the past has, to a certain extent, been circumvented by the workings of the caste system. The creation of new design has been a function which has devolved on the artisan practising the craft. It is only on rare occasions that the privileged patron or customer has moulded taste. The role of the designer, has therefore been, in a sense, superflous in the Indian tradition of the decorative arts.

Traditional Indian textiles can be broadly placed within the three categories of wool, silk and cotton.

There are references to a fourth fibre obtained from some plant. This has been variously identified as jute, *Corchorus,* or hemp, *Crotalaria juncea.* Given the level of pre-industrial technology, such fabrics must have been of extremely coarse texture. Where there are references to an intermixture of silk and vegetable fibre, this may point to the usage of a fibre such as ramie, *Boehmeria nivea,*[6] rather than jute or hemp.

Shastraic injunctions have their own story to tell in relation to textiles. Although wool, like silk has been accorded a higher degree of ritual purity than cotton, in view of Indian climatic conditions it is unlikely to have been much in evidence except during the winter months. The generic term for woollen blankets was *kambal* while those of very fine quality were called *rankava.*[7] The highest development in wool as a garment is to be found in the Kashmir shawl.[8]

India has had a long tradition in silk and cotton. Whereas China is associated with the highest developments in silk, India enjoyed an equivalent advantage in cotton. Weaving traditions in silk and cotton were analogous, but there was a divergence in the sphere of dye patterning.

Weaving tradition in India can be divided into three broad belts. Two are pre-Islamic,[9] while the third traces its ancestry through Islam to China. The two pre-Islamic traditions are those of *Jamdani* and the interlocking technique. Both involve the simplest of loom technology. The third is that of ornamentation by means of the drawloom involving a much more complex system of warping.

The *jamdani* technique is associated with the manufacture of Dacca (presently in Bangla Desh), Varanasi and Tanda muslins Patterning is done by extra weft on a two treadle loom. The warp threads are individually counted and lifted by the weaver and each motif, even if repeated, is separately worked by passing the requisite number of spools of thread through the warp. The tabby weave alone is used. There are no floats on the reverse side as the extra weft threads are discontinuous. *Jamdani* fabrics can be clearly recognised in illuminated manuscripts and the technique itself forms part of a broader based Southeast Asian tradition. The Balinese *sonket* weaving which is still in practice on the island, has close parallels to *jamdani.* The term Jamdani itself is of Islamic origin, but the technique points to a much older tradition.

The interlocking technique of ornamentation on the loom is also based on a simple counting and lifting of warp threads. However, the extra weft of *jamdani* is replaced here by the interlock mechanism whereby when two divergently coloured weft threads meet they are interlocked at the point of intersection. The threads of individual spools are brought back to position according to the pattern on every alternate line of the weave. The loom technology for the interlock weave is extremely simple but the highest attainment in Indian weaving, the Kashmiri shawl, is effected through this weave. It was also strongly in evidence at Chanderi, Burhanpur, Paithan, Yeola and Poona.

In the south Indian tradition where the border of the sari is woven both in warp and waft in a contrast colour[13] to that of the ground portion, the interlock mechanism has been used as a simple device to bring together the ground portion with that of the border. It may also be found in very simple ornamental decoration in the pallu. Saris of Narayanpet, Ilkal, Gadhwal (Andhra Pradesh), and Kanchipuram (Tamil Nadu) show evidence of such ornamental and weaving techniques.

The third technique, that of ornamentation through the drawloom[14] is the dominant one in Gujarat and Banaras. It is not clear at which period of time the drawloom was introduced into India from Central Asia. It was known in China during the Han period.[15] As western India has been open to Central Asian trade routes particularly since the Kaushan period,[16] the introduction of the drawloom to this region may have occurred in an imperceptible manner.

The decorative patterning of the Kashmir shawl, Chanderi weave and the Paithanis show the very elaborate degree of ornamental detail which can be executed by means of the interlock weave. The process, however, involved a very high degree of input of labour. The drawloom simplified processes and elaborate ornamentation with greater stress on flowing lines and free play of form became possible in place of emphasis on geometric patterning. The finest extent examples of draw loom ornamentation may be found in the *Asavali* saris woven in western India.

Unlike the Kashmir shawl, cotton *jamdanis* and dye patterned Indian cottons, Indian silken fabrics did not enjoy a favoured position in external markets in the pre-European period. The important exceptions were *atlas* or *gajji,* double *ikat* and *mashroo.* All three are associated with western India in the early period. The satin weave in evidence in *atlas* or *gajji* was initially practiced exclusively in Gujarat.[17] The technique of double *ikat,* exhaustively described by A. Buhler and E. Fischer,[18] was linked with Gujarat.[19] It was in particular demand in Indonesia where symbolism in textiles has always played an important role. According to Indonesian belief any point of intersection between the vertical and the horizontal is blessed with a special power. Double *ikat* in which the pattern is made up by the alignment of threads which have been tie-dyed in weft

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and wrap fulfilled this acquirement to an admirable degree. Gujarat double *ikat* enjoyed considerable demand in Indonesia where its usage was the exclusive monopoly of royalty. Gujarat patola was called *tchinde* in Java. Double *ikat* in cotton was produced at Tenganan, Bali. It was known as *gringseng*. Gujarat *tchinde* was accorded the same ritual status as Balinese *gringseng*. A particularly popular motif was the *chhabri* bhat basket motif, which became associated with the nine *valis*, the semi mythical heroes who are said to have been responsible for the islamicisation of Indonesia.

Mashroo is a mixed fabric in which the silken warp and cotton weft are woven in a satin weave. Mary in Khorasan had earlier been famous for its *mulham (Mashroo)*[20] and it is possible that the fabric was introduced into Gujarat from the Islamic world[21], Ornamentation in *mashroo* was associated with *ikat*. The European East India Companies traded in this item for which there was a steady West Asian[22] demand despite the fact that it was locally made both in Safavid Persia as well as in Ottoman Turkey.

The most highly developed tradition in India was that achieved in the range of cotton fabrics and in the pre-Industrial period. Indian cottons circulated widely in Africa and Asia long before the European market opened.[23]

The cotton items which enjoyed this external demand were linked to those manufactured for the domestic market. Bengal woven muslins were extremely popular because of their diaphonous quality.[24] The two other important regions of cotton manufacture were Gujarat and the coastal region of eastern Deccan stretching from Balasore to Negapatam. Balasore served as the outlet for coastal Orissa and woven items tended to predominate here[26]. The remaining region was known for its checked material, called *guingham* by Europeans, *plekat* by Indonesians, and *San Thome* by the Japanese.[26] There were also the superlative brush painted ware called *sarassa* in Asia. When the Persians and Europeans entered the field this ware became known as *kalamkari* (Persian), *pintado* (Portuguese), *sits* (Dutch) and, more ambiguously, *Chintz* by the English.[27] The Gujarat craft region[28] also manufactured *sarassa*. However, with the exception of items made at Sironj and Burhanpur the Gujarat items tended to rely more on block printing[29] and were generally of a coarse variety.

On the whole despite considerable overlapping it may be stated that Gujarat was more oriented towards the markets of Africa and West Asia[30] while east coast textiles looked more towards southeast Asia. The items in which Gujarat enjoyed an advantage over the east coast were *bandhani* or *plangi* and monochrome blue-back cloths dyed in indigo or *khayo* (a clay which yielded black dye) for which there was steady demand in the Arabian Sea littoral. When the latter variety began to be copied on the east coast they were called Cambay cloths by the Europeans.

After Europeans entered the sphere of Afro-Asian trade, earlier developed by its local participants, certain changes became perceptible over a passage of time. From the point of view of design input Europeans, like the Persians, added to the range of pattern by having items made to specifications on the basis of samples sent out from the home country.

Because of the availability of cotton, quilting as a device to keep warm had been developed in India since early times. On the whole, quilted items were more widely used than woollen ones in this country. Europeans were entranced with the quality of Bengal and Gujarat work and quilts formed an important item of export until the first half of the seventeenth century. The Portuguese had the most cultivated taste in quilts, called *colchas*, and the finest samples clearly tapped the Moghul *karkhana* tradition of Agra and Lahore[31].

The traditional trade contact between India and Africa lay essentially along the east coast. Some Indian textiles found their way across the Sahara caravan route *via* Timbuctoo to West Africa. Because of the development of the slave trade so integral to European economic activity in the New World, there was a significant increase in the demand generated for Indian textiles vended on the West African coast in the slave trade. So important was this factor that these cloths began to be referred to as Guinea cloths.[32] They were of rough quality and could be crudely dye patterned or equally roughly woven. With the decline of the slave trade there was diminishing demand for Guinea cloths. In the nineteenth century, Javanese batik began to become increasingly popular in West Africa and ultimately displaced Indian cottons in this sphere[33].

Except in the range of tent hangings and *kanats* the Indian way of life has not tended towards the creation of any specific range of design for usage in drapery or bed linen. Specific range in product design was an attribute of European taste and when the European domestic market began to open up, specific form in design began to be prescribed for various items of drapery as also for clothing. It was the interaction between the European designer and the Indian artisan which gave birth to the style now known as chintz.

With the development of the new techniques and technology spawned by the industrial revolution in Europe, Indian products could no longer compete in overseas markets. However, despite the surface veneer of westernisation, the Indian pattern of life

continued along its well worn grooves. There was sufficient demand, particularly among the rural populace, to keep alive traditions of hand crafted industry. The princely states provided patronage and continued traditions of excellence. Maratha activities resuscitated memories of the possibility of an alternative way of life — the nodal point being brahminical Pune rather than epicene Bombay. It is this heritage which needs to be fostered to form the base of an expanding horizon in craft.

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1. *Bulletin No.* 17, Technological Series No. 12, Indian Central Cotton Committee Technological Laboratory, October, 1928, A. N. Gulati, A. J. Turner, "A note on the early history of cotton", pp. 1, 4, 9. The find of cotton at Mohenjodaro has been dated to the third millenium B. C., and that the silk at Nevasa to the latter part of the second millenium B. C.

2. Moti Chandra, *Costumes, Textiles, Cosmetics* and *Coiffure in Ancient and Medieval India,* Delhi, 1973.

3. See V. S. Agrawal, *Harshacharitam : Ek Sanskrtika Adhyayana* (henceforth *Harsa),* in Hindi, Patna, 1953, pp. 22-23, 45-46, 73-79, 81-82, 149-153.

4. B. J. Sandesara, R. N. Mehta, *Varnak Sammuchay,* Vols. I, II, Baroda, 1959.

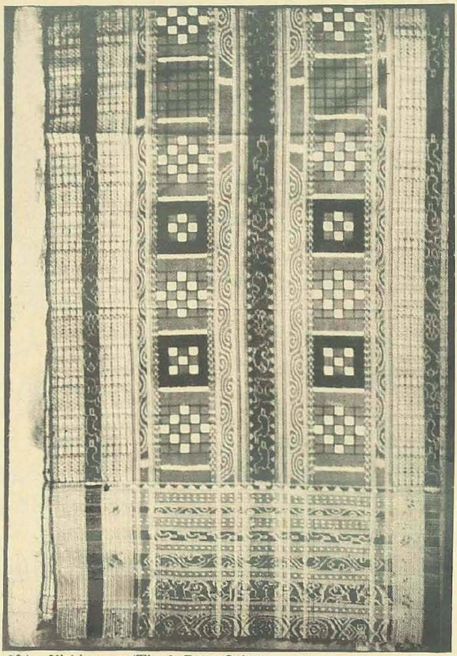
5. See *Buddhiprakash,* Vol. 98, R. N. Mehta, "Cloths and Textiles as described in Mamerun by Premanand", in Gujarati, pp. 146-152, 174-177.

6. G. Watt, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India,* Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1899, pp. 468, 472, 474; V. S. Agrawal, *Harsa,* p. 763; see also Vivi Sylan, *Investigation of Silk from Edsen Col. and Lop-nor,* Stockholm, 1949, p. 171. Cf. Ouvrage posthume du Sieur Jacques Savary des Bruslons, continue par M. Philemon-Louis. Savary, *Dictionnaire Universal de Commerce, II,* Copenhagen, 1760, p. 329, *ecorce d'arbre* q.v. The author describes a fibre which is extracted after a process of reting. Among other usages it is woven with silk. He specifies that when it is so used it is not to be taken as hemp.

7. *Rankava,* derived from *ranku* appears to have been the prototype of what is now known as *pashmina.* See V. S. Agrawal, *Panini Kalina Bharatavarsha,* Banaras, 1956, p. 137. The term *kambal* is found mentioned in the fifth century lexicon *Amarakosha.* See H. Shastri ed., *Namalinganushasana* or *Amarakosha of Amarsimha,* Varanasi, *kambal* q.v. It is to be remembered that the term *kambal* was not be narrowly translated as *blanket.* It should be draped over the shoulders and used in other ways as required.

8. The word *shawl,* coined by Europeans, is derived from Persian, *shal.* The range of meaning assigned to this word demonstrates the difference in attitude in development of nomenclature in the European and Asian context. In Iran the word was used as a generic term to denote a type of material, viz. that of wool, rather than having a narrower connotation of a specific garment. The *shal* could be put to a variety of usages but in Kashmir it was usually worn as a male shoulder cloth. See John Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl,* London, 1973, p. 2; Syed K. A. Qadri, *Establishment of the Handicrafts Museum in Jammu and Kashmir,* dissertation for diploma in Museology, M. S. University, Baroda, 1977, p. 10.

9. It has been generally substantiated that loom technology in ancient India was very simple. Irfan Habib assigns the introduction of the treadle at the earliest to the thirteenth century. be less than precise and the term *achchutari* See I. Habib, *Indian History Congress* (henceforth *I.H.C.),* Symposium, Technology and Society, "Changes in Technology in Medieval India", p. 34; I.H.C., 1969, Presidential address, Medieval Indian Section, I. Habib, "Technological Changes and Society," p. 7. Indeed it is to be noted that the loom used by the Salvi weavers of the *Patola* at Patan does not posses any treadles. Vijaya Ramaswamy *(The Indian Economic and Social History Review,* 1980, "Notes on the Textile Technology in Medieval India with special Reference to the South", pp. 232-33) makes the following statements. The meaning assigned by her to the word *achchutari* found in a Chola inscription dated to A.D. 1001 is that of figure (draw) loom. Following this a Vijayanagar inscription dated to A.D. 1538 is quoted in which attention is drawn to the close association between the drawloom and weavers belonging to the Muslim community. In the south Indian tradition of weaving, extra weft patterning is effected by means of the *adai,* analogous to the north Indian *jhala,* introduced through Islam. Extra warp patterning is done by means of the mechanism called *jhungu.* The connotation of the word *achchutari* could be taken equally well as extending both to the *adai* and the *jhungu.* A study of tradition in craft tends to support the view that extra warp ornamentation involving simple loom technology is more intrinsic to the Deccani tradition of decoration on the loom than that of extra weft. By the sixteenth century Islam was firmly entrenched in the south. If the term *achchutari* is given the sense of *jhungu* in the Chola inscription and that of *adai* in the Vijayanagar inscription there is no dicho-

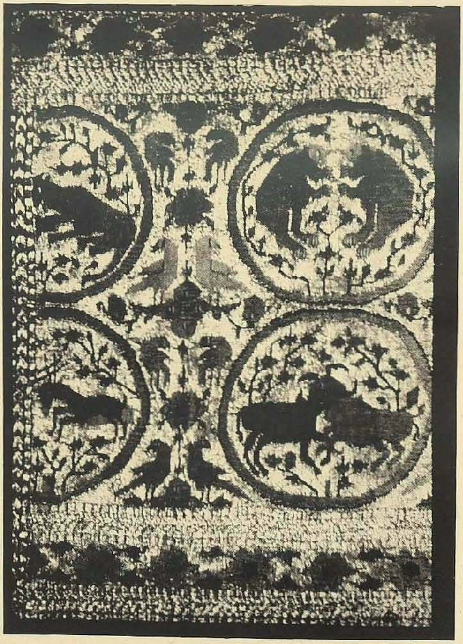


104. Vichitrapur (Tie & Dye) Orissa

105. Paithan Saree, Maharashtra

106. Asavalli

107. Chanderi Cotton M.P.



tomy between the two references. Technical terminology in the Indian languages tends to be less than precise and the term *achchutari* may well have referred to both extra warp as well as extra weft loom contrivances. This in no way detracts from the identification of the drawloom with Islam.

10. *Lalit Kala,* 6, 1959, P. Jaykar, "Jamdanis of Tanda and Banaras", pp. 37-46.

11. The term *Jamdani* is traced to the words *jam-dar,* flowered or embossed. A. L. Bhowmick, *Traditional Textiles of Bengal,* unpublished Ph. D. dissertation. Faculty of Science, University of Calcutta, 1973, p. 46. According to Professor B. N. Mukherjee (see below n. 16), the term *manache* mentioned in *Periplus of the Erythren Sea,* from Sanskrit *mana* (ornament) and *aksha* (pervaded), may have been an early reference to *jamdani* fabrics. Dr. Archana Roy (Curator, Birla Academy of Art and Culture, Calcutta), feels the pre-islamic term may have been *jati patta* cloth highly decorated with flowers.

12. For a discussion of figure 107 see *Oriental Art,* I, 1, 1955, H. Goetz, "Some Early Indo-Muslim Textiles", pp. 24-27.

13. There is a reference in the Tamil classic *Porunarattrupadai,* to the manufacture of fine cotton cloths having borders of different colours. This work has been assigned to the period between third and fourth centuries A.D. by Nilakanta Shastri. See J. V. Chelliah, *Pattupattu, Ten Tamil Idylls,* Madras, 1962, p. 55; V.R.R. Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History,* London, 1930, p. 264; K. A. Nilkanta Shastri, *A History of South India,* Madras, 1976, p. 115.

14. In present times the jacquard is making increasing inroads into those areas in which the extra weft technique has been in evidence in India.

15. Vivi Sylvain, *op. cit.*, p. 168, n. 24.

16. The silk route is recorded to have opened in 141 B.C. It led through Yarkand, Gilgit and through Kashmir into India. After the first century A.D. the route through Peshawar became more popular. Acknowledgement, Professor B. N. Mukherji, Department of Ancient Indian History, University of Calcutta.

17. This is another evidence of the cultural link between Gujarat and Central Asia. Despite the identification of *prigha* (Kharoshti) with *pringa* and the association of this word with the damask weave *(Bharatiya Vidya,* XIV, R. C. Agrawala, "A study of textiles and garments as depicted in Kharesthi documents from Chinese Turkestan" p. 77), there is no evidence that even in Gujarat there was tradition of the damask weave despite mastery achieved in the sphere of satin.

18. A Buhler, E. Ficher, *The Patola of Gujarat,* Vols. I, II, Basle, 1979.

19. Today it is associated with the *patola* manufactured at Patan. Double *ikat* has an old tradition in Orissa *(Journal of Indian Textile History,* VI, 1961, R. N. Mehta, "Bandhas of Orissa", p. 66). Unfortunately very little is known about the distribution of Orissa *ikat* in Indonesia although some Indonesias *ikat* bear a marked affinity with those of Orissa.

20. C. J. Lamm, *Cotton in Medieval Textiles of the Near East,* Paris, 1937, p. 121.

21. *Mashroo* is used extensively by the different ethnic groups of Kutch and Saurashtra. See A. Buhler, E. Fischer, M. Nabholz, *Indian Tie-Dyed Fabrics,* Ahmedabad, 1980, p. 92.

22. Legoux de Flaix, *Essai Historique, Geographique,* et *Politique sur 1" Indoustan avec le Tableau de son Commerce,* II, Paris, 1807, p. 277.

23. After the great period of trade with India during the Roman period, there appears to have been a long interregnum when trade between Europe and India was carried out through intermediaries rather than directly. In this network the Egyptian port of Alexandria and that of Venice in Italy served as the major points of distribution. Spices, drugs and dyes were the main commodities vended. Since the 7th century A. D. the Chinese monopoly over silk had begun to be eroded and spices had overtaken silk in the medieval pattern of European demand for eastern commodities. European consumption of cotton could be viewed in terms of the fustian industry which had begun to assume importance in south Germany in the fourteenth century. In fustian weaving the warp was of wool or linen, the weft being cotton. See *Ciba Review,* 64, 1948, H. Wescher, Fustian Weaving in South Germany from the 14th to the 16th centuries,' pp. 2339-2341. When Vasco da Gama appeared in the East it could be stated that the European demand lay rather in the direction of raw cotton than the finished product.

24. See *Mare Luso-Indicum,* I, 1973, Jean Aubin, "Leroyaame d'Ormuz au debut au XVI siecle", p. 159.

25. Sieur Luillier, *Nouveau -Voyage aux Grandes Indes avec Une Instruction pour le Commerce des Indes Orientales,* Rotterdam, 1726, p. 39.

26. Actual swatches of *San Thome* may be found at the Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo, Japan, in the work entitled, *Komosen Mochiwatari Tammono Kirehon* (Sample Book of Textiles

Brought by Vessels of the Red Haired People). In referring to the Portuguese the Japanese used a term earlier coined by the Chinese, *Namban* or blue eyed barbarians of the Southern Seas. The term they used in reference to the Dutch was *Komo* or Red Haired.

27. The subject of this category of material has been exhaustively dealt with in several publications. Among more recent publications mention may be made of John Irwin, R. B. Brett, *Origins of Chintz,* London, 1970, *Homage to Kalamkari,* Marg Publications, Bombay, 1979.

28. This extended into Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

29. The earliest samples of Gujarat block printed items were those found at Fostat. These have been exhaustively described by Rr. Pfister *(Les Toiles Imprimees de Fostal et l'Hindoustan,* Paris, 1938). Unfortunately the items have been scientifically dated but the earliest have been ascribed to the twelfth century A. D. Apart from block printing, there is evidence of another technique known as the clamp resist method which was practiced in Gujarat. See A. Buhler, E. Fischer, *Clamp Resist Dyeing of Fabrics,* Ahmedabad, 1977.

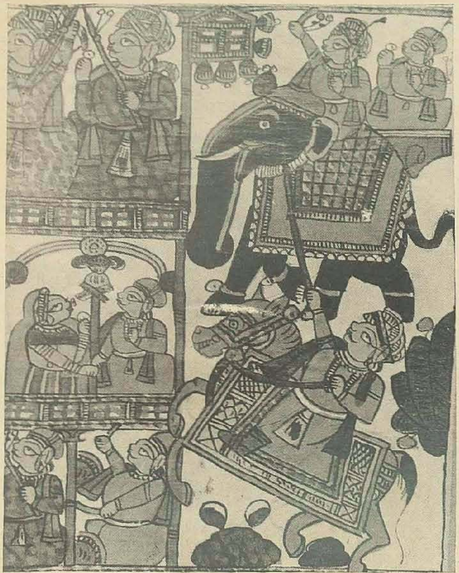
30. See *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* IX, I, 1976, E. A. Alpers, "Gujarat and the Trade of East Africa C. 1500-1800", p. 39.

31. This tradition was continued into modern times as is demonstrated in the gold and silver thread embroidery executed at Agra and Jaipur. The Surat tradition is a little different.

32. For a detailed description of Guinea cloths see Legoux de Flaix, *op. cit.,* pp. 2-3, 5, 11-12, 20.

33. R. Nielsen, *The History and Development of Wax Printed Textiles,* unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Tropical Museum, Amsterdam, p. 29; W. T. Kroese, *The Origin of the Wax Block Prints on the Coast of West Africa,* Hengelo, 1976, pp. 35-46.

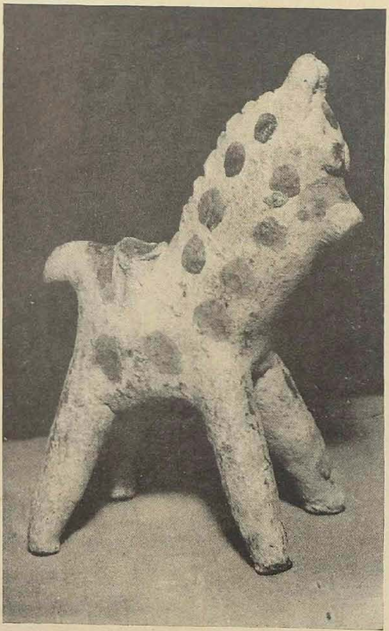
INDIAN HANDICRAFTS
KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAYA



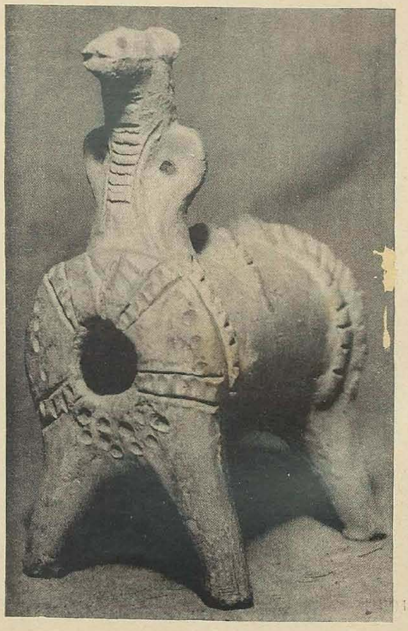
109. A part of Phud Painting, Bhilwara Rajasthan.

110. Horse Rider: Terracotta from Gujarat.

111. Horse, Terracotta from S. Gujarat Adiwasi.



112. Horse, Terracotta from S. Gujarat Adiwasi.



Indian Handicrafts

Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya

India has been known as a land of Crafts and Craftsmen. Traditional craftsmanship in our country has meant far more than skill with materials, more than manual dexterity in manipulating tools. It has meant a total operation involving the emotions, mind, body and the vibrant rhythm that such a co-ordination generates.

Pottery

Clay craft is probably the earliest of man's creations and marks his coming of age as man faced nature's challenge. Moulded out of the earth himself, he wanted to go beyond the boundaries of his material existence, give expression to his creative spirit, by fashioning a new world of infinite shapes of grace and elegance. It symbolises man's first craftsmanship, and civilizations are now dated and assessed by the degree of skill and beauty displayed by the earthenware found in excavations.

Pottery has been called the lyric of handicrafts because of its irresistible and universal appeal, but more by association of the humble clay objects with our most intimate life.

Earthenware is too widespread a product to be enumerated. One can but identify certain special types. Delhi has an old tradition in pottery with a penetrating blue which is distinctive and can claim relationship with porcelain.

The Jaipur blue pottery is unique, for its foundation is pure quartz. Its semi-transparent products decorated with arabesque patterns, interspersed with animals and birds, are best known.

In Uttar Pradesh, Khurja has evolved a style by raising the pattern with the use of thick slips into a light relief and produces floral designs in warm autumnal colours.

An earthenware peculiar to Nizamabad, Uttar Pradesh has a dark lustrous body. Chinhat, Mausalia, use glaze in striking designs with flowing lines.

Gujarat produces natural white wares, gentle and pleasing, skilfully decorated. Saurashtra's yellow (gopichandan) clay turns out articles glowing like burning buff.

Kashmir's classical symbol in clay has been a hookah base made in a variety of traditional shapes.

Goa earthenware with its deep rich red, velvety surface makes water jugs and flower pots besides a wide range of figures and panels more like sculpture.

The south has several centres of noted glazed pottery. Vellore and Usilampatti have black and red wares painted over in yellow.

Karigiri pottery's distinctiveness lies in its highly artistic shapes, its very original coloured glazes in orange and green and ornamentation.

Significantly the most unlettered of potters, while displaying their innate sense of colour, let the beauty of form have precedence over colour and ornamentation so that the true artist in each can come out in the lines.

Wood

The tree was probably man's earliest friend and companion as he began to build up kinship with nature, providing him shelter and his first home.

The wondrous quality of the wood pulsated like magic in man's fingers as he cut and shaped this material. Every little thing in use was beautified by some carving.

Kashmir's soft-toned elegant walnut and the facile deodar wood with lovely grain have guided the craftsman's deft fingers into delicate lines and decorative motifs, for a countless variety of alluring objects with minutest details, tastefully executed.

Gujarat is rich in wood carvings. Even the ordinary houses have beautiful carvings, doors with delicate lattice work or carving, and the lintel over it with an image, the pillars decorated by half roundels or floral freizes. It has marquetry, a mosaic worked around panels called Sadelli.

A fascinating feature is the large variations found in a single motif like the lotus, the parrot, swan, etc., each has 40 to 50 different shapes, poses, styles.

Assam has an old tradition in rather an unusual and striking wooden house called Namghar on Kirtanghar (house for worship or singing religious songs), with a peacock shaped throne-like seat raised in three tiers. It also has finely carved chests for storing every thing from ornaments to vessels, small seats, stool-like tables and charming sandals.

In Punjab, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Amritsar, are known for furniture, the carving in low relief cut in geometrical patterns. One of their specialities is trellis work done in delicate tracery which at a distance creates a fairy-like effect.

Madura rosewood carvings are in bold forms, the details minutely and painstakingly worked. The tables have tops covered with floral motifs or parrots or epic scenes, the legs elegantly carved like the Yali, a legendary animal. In Andhra Pradesh, Nirmal has a profusion of wood articles with brilliantly tinted designs painted on them with the technique and flavour of classical miniatures, that give them a rare distinction. A speciality is an ample serving plate with a large dome-like cover, gorgeously embellished with bold patterns.

A sophisticated version of Nirmal work was developed in Hyderabad by colour spraying, to create a new range of furniture, boxes, trays, coasters, etc.

Some of the best specimens of wood work in South India are the mighty pyramidal gateways to temples, with marvellous intricate carving. An extension of this covers the temple chariots, in various shapes, heavily decorated.

Rajasthan has paper thin bowls from Rohida wood. Remarkable folk figures of Isar and Gauri (deities) are made for the Gangaur (spring) festival.

The best Kerala wood carving is seen in architecture and religious figures whether it be in a temple or a church. Most remarkable are carvings in the ceiling, pillars, doors, and every part of the structure. Secular objects include warriors wielding swords or ladies adorning themselves, in which the drapery and ornaments show a high quality of craftsmanship.

Kerala produces also elephants in profusion in a variety of postures and sizes, from the microscopic to the huge. They are also shown pushing and pulling logs of wood.

Goa has a good tradition in wood carving in architecture as in superb quality furniture.

In Punjab, Hoshiarpur specialises in wood inlay; occasionally black wood is used as ground for ivory inlay in intricate patterns.

In Bihar, wood inlay is an outstanding industry. The inlay continues to be done with different materials, metal, ivory and stag horn.

Man in his exuberance seems to have devised further methods of ornamenting wood by lacquering, in which countless designs and colour schemes are executed. Ornamental lacquering with intricate manipulation produces styles called zigzag, atishi (fire), abri (cloud), nakshi (etched), for high decoration.

In Gujarat Sankheda is noted for very artistic furniture especially swings, all gay with colours and designs in the tinfoil style.

Chennapatna in Karnataka State holds an honoured place in folk and imaginative creations in lacquerware, especially toys.

Stone

For man stone comes only next to clay and wood in intimacy. It also marks his devising and gaining mastery over new tools and implements as extensions of his hand.

Agra in Uttar Pradesh is world famous for its marble work, drawing inspiration from the Taj Mahal, especially the incomparable mocaics.

In Tamilnadu there is a great tradition in stone carving of icons which are of classical excellence.

Jaisalmer, in Rajasthan, is a dream in stone, rising out of a desert, a cluster of marble houses, now abandoned, but standing like memories of a bygone age, with pierced windows, in delicate traceries, balconies with richly carved brackets, sculptured arches, transforming architecture into an ornament.

In Orissa, Puri has an infinite variety of stone figurines exquisitely carved. In Madhya Pradesh Balaghat makes small attractive items like animals, boxes, trays, etc, from a green stone.

Kerala is rich in granite which is largely used in traditional image making for which Changanur us famous.

Himachal Pradesh can boast of the ancient giant monolithic carvings of the rock cut temple as Masrur, daring in concept, executed with meticulous attention to details, elaboration and delicate chiselling.

Textiles

Cotton fabrics may be said to be the pearl of Indian weaving. It were as though these craftsmen were magicians and waved wands to produce what seem like dreams and give them fancy names like evening dew because they became indistinguishable when laid on the grass, running water because when dipped in water they became invisible, and because of the cool feel on the skin, sherbati (like sherbet) and as even a 5-yard piece could pass through a little ring, it came to be called woven air.

The Indian weavers developed their own science of colours, relating colours to form a kind of harmony through regular or diffused or composite reflections. Some order of placing made for contrasts in simultaneous and successive contrasts, which in a large composition could balance with a harmonious order of concord and unity by placing related colours alongside with fascinating effect. The contrasts chosen may be steep but not harsh, daring but not unsettling, with tender colours interposing. For when arrogant purple is thrown in with subdued green, they seem to reach out to each other with a coy but poignant air. Some brief encounters are often ingeniously dispensed by white or off-white. The extraordinary sensitivity to the subtleast shades can be judged from the concept of five white tones:
Ivory, Jasmine, August moon, August clouds after they shed the rain, and the Conch shell.

In Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh even the simplest has a dignity lent by heavy borders on either side, or a single decorative touch of a heavily patterned pallu — the sari end which falls over the shoulder. Gadwal, Kothakota and Siddhipet in Andhra Pradesh weave fine cottons with rich gold borders and heavy panel-like pallus in opulent designs.

Amongst elaborate styles in cotton weaving is Jamdani, in which the fabric shows shadowy figured designs, dreamy and suggestive. Currently Varanasi weavers have reoriented the Jamdani into cut work by throwing the weft across the width, then, finely cutting the loose threads to bring out a pattern.

The best known Varanasi product is the brocade, with scroll patterns and heavy dots, stars and spangles scattered over the body. It also makes shimmering tissue fabrics.

Gujarat has its own style brocades woven with extra weft patterns.

Himroo is a kind of a brocaded material woven on a simple throw-shuttle loom on the principle of the extra weft figuring with cotton used in the warp, and art silk in the weft.

Baluchar is a highly colourful sari, said to have 17 colours in it, devised by a plain fabric brocaded with untwisted silk thread forming heavy designs and panels of figures, animals.

Tanchoi is a weave that resembles fine Indian miniatures with interspersing of delicate birds or garden scenes rich with blossoms.

Patola is an ostentatious weave with a figured body, and subtle merging of shades into one another. The most elaborate are in Gujarat in double ikat. Orissa has patola in tusser silk and in single ikat. Andhara also does this weave mainly in geometrical patterns.

In Maharashtra the most intriguing saree is Paithani, in which on a zari warp thread, the weft is interlocked with different colours to produce a rich gold sheet, bordered with rosettes.

In Tamilnadu the pride of place goes to Kanchipuram for silks though Kollegal and Kunbakonam, Salem and Arni also have very intricate weaves of motifs of the yali, lion, swan, etc. The distinguishing southern feature is a solid border in contrasting colours headed with temple towers.

Amongst shawls, Kashmir holds the pride of place, with the complex jamavar done in a most complicated weave performed by manipulating a large number of bobbins. In this the mango design is the most popular, seen in countless varieties. The woven designs are often enhanced by embroidery to get richer effects.

The Himalayan region is a great shawl producing area, especially Mandi, Kulu and Chamba in Himachal Pradesh, mostly woven in angular geometrical type of motifs grouped in straight horizontal lines, bands and stripes, one or two placed vertically.

Decoration on Cloth

The best known is the kalamkari, a name derived from kalam meaning pen and kari, work. This picturisation on cloth is done in several parts of India, but the best known are in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Orissa and West Bengal.

In Western India paintings of deities on cloth called Pichwais, were originally closely linked with temple deities. Now secular themes are also used.

In Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Kalamkari known as the Devi-ka-parda (Curtain of the Goddess), shows a vivid Durga on the lion in dark maroon red.

Orissa painting on cloth called Patachitra or popularly pat, mainly depicts epic stories, recited or sung to the public.

In West Bengal, painting is made on scrolls. The performer keeps singing the story as he unwinds the scroll before the audience, showing local legends, folk tales besides epics.

Batik in Indonesian means wax-writing, for the process involves brushing with melted paraffin and beeswax, to enable colours to penetrate specific portions of the fabric to produce crackles and veining that unify the colours and the composition of the design. The patterns are countless, as each can be a new one, and include local flowers, birds, heraldic motifs. The total effect is most gorgeous and against the light, that of stained glass. Another decoration is by Bandhani — tie-dye. This involves knotting, binding, folding fabrics, a highly complicated process of forming designs through portions of the cloth tightly tied while dipping in various colour baths. Unusual textures are brought out as the colours creep around the knots, so that infinite patterns can be devised through variations and combinations of the ties, folds and wraps.

Printing is universally practised, each region, even a small village having its own technique and presentation.

A special feature of the Jaipur prints is the use of a variety of designs in the same piece of cloth, but beautifully harmonised. Gold and silver effects are also introduced.

Farrukabad is probably the biggest printing unit in Uttar Pradesh, with designs ranging from the classical bootis, 'the dots of Kanouj', through the universal mango to the famous Tree of Life.

Masulipatnam, the home of the ancient famed painted cloth, has a kalamkari print which is a mixture of printing and hand painting. The designs vary from the large and bold to the daintiest and smallest.

Embroidery

Indians use all the embroidery stitches known to the rest of the world but with local variations and innovations, determined by the immediate environmental influences. Embroidered cloths still retain the old social values, for they are amongst the treasures given to the bride at the marriage. The Pichwai of Nathdwara, Rajasthan, is done also in embroidery as a decorative hanging in temples and temple chariots.

The Punjab phulkari is a spectacular piece — the word itself means flowering for it creates a gorgeous flowery surface.

The embroideries of Gujarat are lavish. The best known is Kathi after the Kathi nomads who introduced it. Abhala is the mirror embroidery, most universally known of all the Indian embroideries.

In Karnataka State the Kasuti patterns depict an all-embracing world, for the motifs range from architecture to a cradle, from an elephant to a squirrel.

Manipur has an embroidery style which is exclusively its own, done on the border of the phanek, the women's lungi. It is however firm and so evenly chiselled that it gets merged in the fabric as though it were part of the weave.

Chamba has its folk embroidery so exquisitely executed, that as you look at the embroidered Ras you feel you are actually watching a dance.

Embroidery done in metal wires, zari, is in a class by itself. In this zardozi is the heaviest and most elaborate, used in coverings of all sorts and heavy coats.

Bead embroidery on textiles is done to embellish the fabric largely in flowing patterns. In Gujarat by a unique technique the woven beads themselves become the fabric.

Amongst woollen pile carpets, Kashmiri ones are perhaps the best in quality and most famed. The designs range from medallions to hunting scenes, and pictorial presentations with finely drawn scrolling stems with joint flower-heads, above all the elegant trellis designs.

Jaipur is renowned for its carpets, especially small with angular motifs enclosing little rosettes and curving stems.

The entire Himalayan belt from the West to the North East region produces a wide range of designs by an ingenious arrangement of warp and weft threads of different colours in stripes.

Metalware

In India from the limited domestic field, the metalware has spread out in various directions, including the prestigious ritualistic field. In fact the range in metalware seems unlimited.

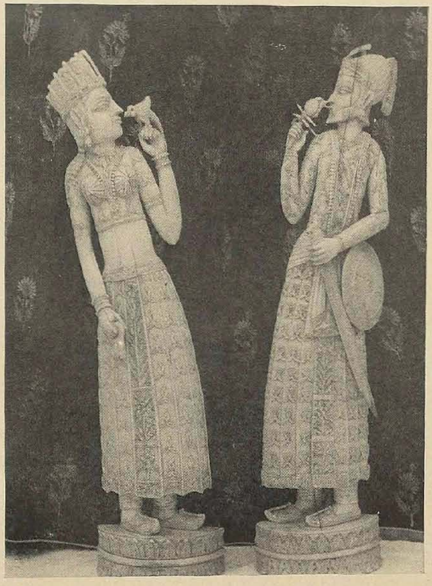
Kerala is noted for its bell metal. The wide open cooking vessels, urlis, are classic in line and dignified in simplicity. Huge cauldrons called Varpu, are used in temples. A simple oil lamp, with its swirling lines and tapering up like a candle, and chaste out line could indeed be taken for a Greek vase, so chaste is its outline

Nachairkoil in Tamil Nadu casts in different shapes, domestic ware, ornamented spittoons being a

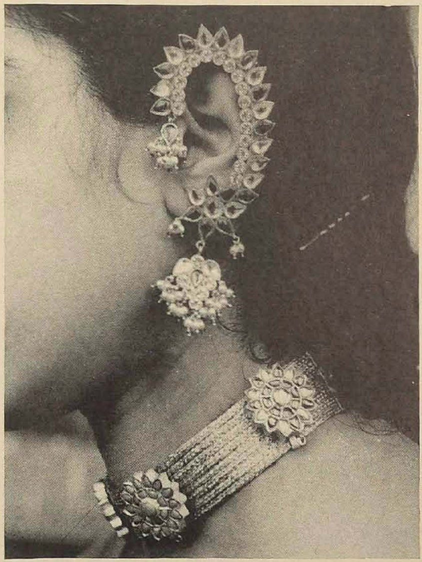
113. Sandle wood Carving, Rajasthan.

114. *Bikaner*: Carved & Painted wooden legs, Rajasthan.

115. Ivory Carving, Rajasthan.



116. Choker & Ear Ornaments, Rajasthan.



117. Blue Pottery from Jaipur

speciality, bells, candle stands, kerosene lamps, above all a fantastic variety of oil lamps. A brass box-like lamp made of decorated perforations is a garden lamp for the courtyard.

Assam has a special shallow bowl on a stand.

Manipur has a distinct dish in the shape of a large bowl with a broad rim running around its neck, resting on a small pedestal, beautifully formed, called Krishna Kanti. The lidded betelnut container, which looks more like a ritualistic lamp, is called Senga. An article with very chaste lines is a large bell with Garuda at the top.

In Gujarat among the ritualistic items, large temple bells are a speciality, sometimes decorated by little deities. The famous bell on Girnar Hills, weighs 240 kilos. Other specialities include large temple drums of copper, and animals and birds.

In Uttar Pradesh, the range is wide in domestic ware. Each of the scores of lotas (little water pots) is known by the name of its place of origin, like Etawah, Varanasi, Sitapur, etc. The ritual articles, are largely in copper : tamrapatra, pot for storing water, panch patra for holding all the articles needed for worship; Simhasan, a seat for the deity; Kanchanthal, plate for offering flowers and sweets, and hosts of other things. Srinagar village makes beautiful images with prominent conch shell eyes.

In Karnataka, Karkal is an old Jain Centre which specialises in rare Jain icons.

The best in metalware is statuary. While the images are countless, the craftsman has to learn not only the physical measurements for the right proportions to make each of the images, but also familiarise himself with the verses describing each deity, its characteristics, decoration, symbolism and above all the aesthetics strictly enjoined. These verses are known as *dhyana* which means meditation, which conveys the compulsion for intense concentration on these instructions before starting on the image-making.

Kerala though noted for its statuary, has fine work in the quaint rafter-shoes peculiar to Kerala, which consists of a bronze image used as an ornamental cover fitted to the outer end of a rafter for protection from fire.

Tamilnadu is famous for bronze images. Stylistically the images conform to periods marking the various dynastic regimes of the Pallava, Chola, Pandyan and Nayaka. It leads -with the world famous Nataraja whose symbolism needs no reiteration.

Probably no other country has such imagery and symbolisms built around lamps as India. As light is a symbol of the fire God Agni, lamps have always been deemed auspicious. On all important occasions lamps are lit and waved.

Ornamentation on Metal.

This is done all over India in the following processes :

Repousse or embossing is done by raising the design in relief.

Chasing is the art of engraving of a design on the surface of the metal with a blunt chisel. Engraving is probably the earliest effort in ornamentation by cutting or scratching lines. This is accomplished in a variety of ways. Etching and punching create decorative effects by arrangement of lines or dots, to get an artistic pattern.

In decorative metalware a variety of pictures are depicted to display landscapes, war and court scenes, group dances, temples, and deities.

The metal wire inlay work known as Tarkashi is from Mainpuri in Uttar Pradesh which largely decorates furniture.

In the ornamentation called Mumabat Kari patterns are wrought at slightly raised levels over the surface of the articles, so the designs seem overlaid.

In metal decoration, enamelling is probably the most alluring and sophisticated. Once it was only done on gold, but now it is also done on silver, copper or brass. Enamelling may be described as the art of colouring and ornamenting a metal surface by fusing over it various mineral substances. Rajasthan and Delhi are noted for it.

Examples of high quality silverware in Kashmir are Hukkas with deep cut ornamentation with motifs like the lotus.

In Gujarat, Kutch is outstanding in silver work, both for its superior designs as for its fine workmanship of deep carving.

Silver filigree is a process in which silver wires are pleated and flattened very thin and beaten into different shapes with granular edges. This is used largely in ornaments in the form of flowers, leaves, etc.

Jewellery.

Jewellery in India is on a magnitude that has perhaps few parallels. For every part of the human body a special ornament is provided. But its significance lies outside of its amplitude, on its variety and aesthetics. It is in fact a part of the Indian culture, a facet of its social pattern with deep religious overtones.

Amongst earrings the most popular is Jhumka or Karanphul, literally flower of the ear. The upper part that covers the lobe is a chased cone plaque enamelled or set with stone, which in the hill areas is a turquoise.

Its outer edge resembles a star or is appliqued with a wire ring with impressions of round knobs, from which is suspended a bell with a number of small balls.

The foot ornaments consist of two types, the toe rings and the anklets. In toe ring, several straight lines are joined together in a circle to form the ring and the edges take hexagonal or octagonal patterns or the shape of a fish, scorpion, flowers, or just circles of granules. Rajasthan has one in which the design is built up of semispherical forms combined with globular bells.

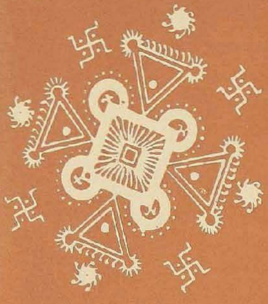
Tamilnadu has a rich selection of armlets, some in repousse work depicting Garuda, the epic eagle, parrot, serpent's head, yali, etc.

Neck jewellery starts with a choker which has a wide range from simple silver wire work to richly gemset pearl ornamented ones. A large selection of beads form a wide range of necklace.

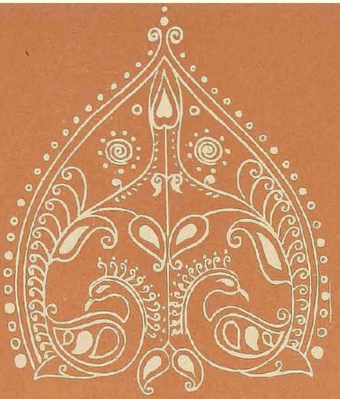
There are ornaments for the hand which are only worn on festive occasions like the *Hathphool* — hand flower which has a central flower with the chains flowing out of them. Exquisite ornaments are also made from ivory. Pearls and corals are strung to produce stunning effects.

RANGAVALI
FOLK ART SUPREME

VASANTI MUZUMDAR



Chowkapurna (Madhya Pradesh)

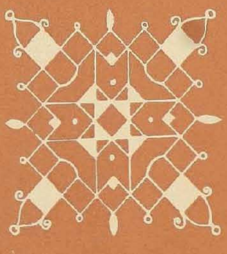


Alpana (Bengal)

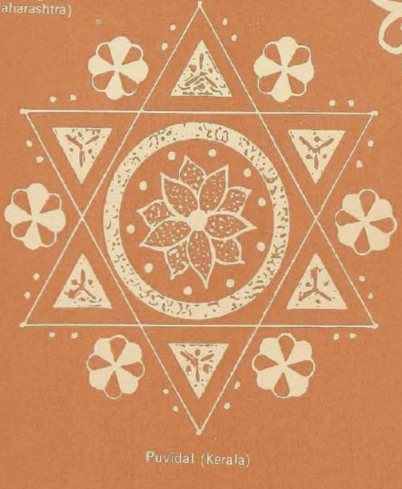
Mandana (Rajasthan)

Chaitrangana (Maharashtra)

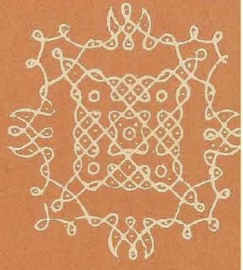
Ashtadal lotus (common in every state)



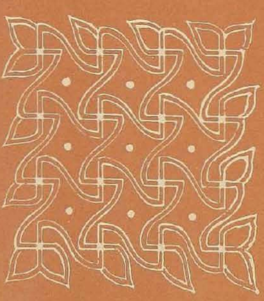
Sathiya (Gujarat)



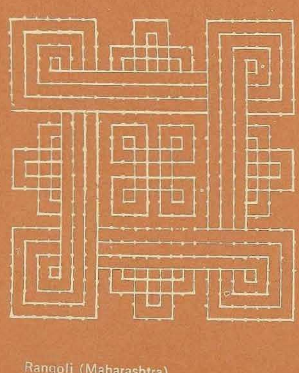
Puvidal (Kerala)



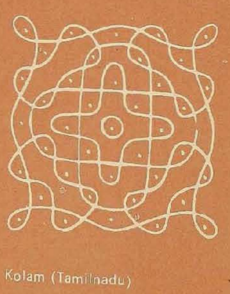
Muggu (Andhra Pradesh)



Rangoli (Karnataka)



Rangoli (Maharashtra)



Kolam (Tamilnadu)

Rangavali : Folk Art Supreme

Vasanti Muzumdar

India is well known for her folk arts. *Rangawali* (powder-drawing) is one of them. The basis of this form of art is line drawing. It is a peculiar feature of Indian tradition. We find this form of art in some South-East Asian countries which, once upon a time flourished under the sway of Indian culture and arts. It would, therefore, not be wrong to say that it originated and was developed in India.

All of us know that line drawing was the first medium through which man expressed his inner artistic urge. Perhaps, the first drawing was a linear figure drawing in dust, most probably with the index finger of the right hand. But being at the mercy of the winds and rains, it has a very short life. Man, in his attempts to prolong the life of his aesthetic creation, began to use other media. Coloured powder seems to have been the first of these. The question here may be asked as to why we do not find this form of art in other parts of the world. Geography alone can answer this question. This art presupposes pounded floors, with plenty of water in the vicinity. We cannot think of this art where the floors are wooden or paved on stones. Nor can we think of it in countries where because of intense cold, the floors are covered with hay. Tent life in the arid deserts also could not be conducive to the birth and development of this art. Powder drawing presupposes a floor which exercises a sufficiently strong adhesive pull on the amorphous powder. In the absense of this pull the weakest wind will blow the powder off and the line drawing would be wiped out during the very process of drawing itself.

Up to very recent times the floors of Indian houses, even those of the rich few, were pounded flat and had to be plastered with a mixture of cow-dung and earth to maintain their hardness. This plaster would take some time to dry, and before it dried up the lady of the household was in the habit of decorating it with Rangawali to relieve the monotony of the vast volume of the earthy colour of that floor plaster. The ladies of practically every household tried their hand at this art. For a pretty long time it got stuck up only in geometrical patterns of the line drawing. It was an expression of the artistic urges of a group. Individuals, no doubt, introduced new patterns and helped its development. But even such individuals

had to take care to see that the new pattern was within the reach of the skill acquired by the group as a whole. Any innovation that was beyond the group skill died out with the innovator.

It is necessary to remember this background in order to understand the genesis and the direction of the development of Rangawali art. The word Rangawali means a row of colours. The colours used in this art are in powder form. White happens to be the basic colour because of its easy availability. The artist takes the powder colour in the thumb-index finger pinch and draws the line on the newly plastered floor by a gradual release of the powder resulting in a uniformly thick and intense line. Originally the lines were usually straight. From a straight line to a 'Swastik' was a small step. Later on the Swastik was followed by the Lotus, the Sun, the Moon, the Shankha, the Go-Padma, Chakra, Gada, Kalasha and other religious symbols.

Rangawali in one form or the other is found in all parts of India. Right from the Adivasi (tribal) women to the ladies of the elite homes all try their hand at this art. It is perhaps because of this universality that its final manifestation assumed a stylized form.

All over the world, religion has been the mother of all arts. India is not an exception to this rule. The art of Rangawali also flourished in the *Yajnya-mandaps* (pandals built for the sacrifices during the Vedic age) and the temples. Different patterns aquired religious significance and today these patterns, in addition to being the artistic heritage of the Hindus, have also become a part of other religious heritage. Different gods and their blessings were associated with these symbols. The Swastik, for example, is identified with Vishnu and his grace. The four arms represent his four hands; -the centre is his navel which according to mythology, is deemed to be the birthplace of all creation. In some cases, it is associated with the Sun. It is believed that a girl who draws the Swastik near the threshold never becomes a widow. The Chakra symbolises the Sun and indirectly is accociated with the ever dynamic revolutions and rotations of the stellar system. The Lotus connotes the Maya element and thus implies the creation of life. Thus the Lotus becomes the symbol of life itself. It also symbolises its beauty, prosperity, health, wealth and fame. In short, it symbolises the very essence of life with all its multi-splendoured grandeur and beauty. These primary symbolic line drawings later on developed into the line drawings of living objects like the Elephant, the Naga (cobra), the Fish etc. These drawings were also given a specific meaning. The Elephant denoted strength. The Naga has a special philosophic significance. The king of all serpents is called 'Shesha' and the dictionary meaning of this word is "remainder". Therefore, the Naga symbol denotes The Eternal Remainder, i.e. God. Indian philosophy believes that God (Brahma), having pervaded all creation, does not totally exhaust itself. Whatever still remains is known as 'Anant Shesha', an Unending Remainder. This attribute of Brahma is symbolised in the Naga figure.

This change from mere line drawing into other forms took place not only in the homes of the urban elite but also in rural areas and among the aborigines of this land.

Rangawali is considered essential on all auspicious occasions and functions. The Jains and Parsis also consider Rangawali as auspicious. Different kinds of powders including marble powders, rice flour, sindoor and ash of hay are used as mediums for Rangawali. Vatsyayan, in his famous treatise on sex, 'Kamasutra', has included Rangawali among the 64 arts enumerated by him. We find references to Rangawali in Sanskrit literature as old as 1050 A.D.

India is a sub-continent and is composed of people with different cultures, different social customs and traditions and speaking different languages. Yet a stream of unity seems to run through the length and breadth of the country. It is this stream which, in spite of all diversity, keeps the country united. In Rangawali we can see the aesthetic expression of this unifying stream, with variation in styles and forms in different parts of the country.

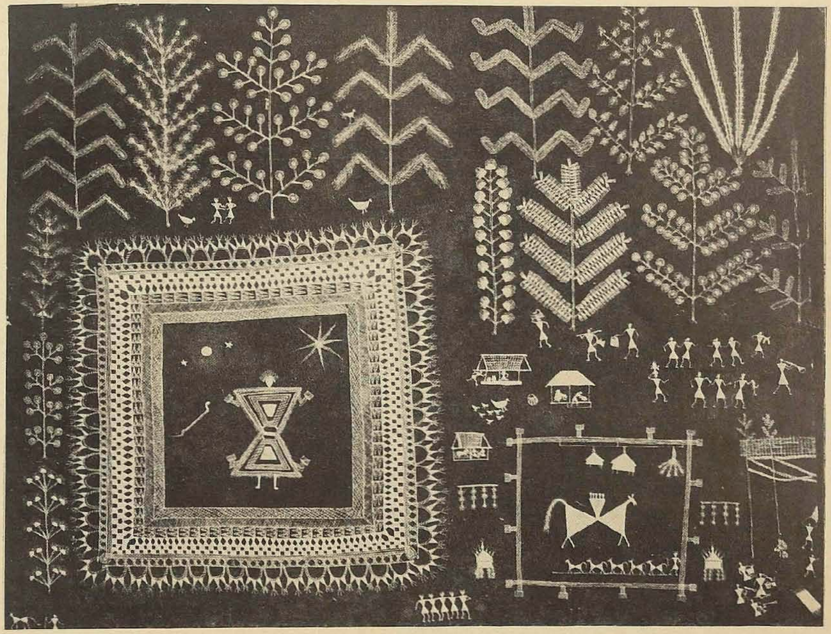
In Bengal, Rangawali is known as 'Alpana'. In Alpana, all lines start from a central point and then assume dainty, dynamic curves, which ultimately produce different linear patterns. Alpana abhors straight lines and angles. Traditionally 'Ashtadala' is drawn under the seat of the bride on her first ceremonial entry in the bridegroom's house after the marriage. 'Ashtadala' projects the lotus form with eight petals i.e. eight sacred things of the life. There is, however, a little difference between Alpana and Rangawali; the latter is a line drawing in dry powder whereas, in the former, the insoluble powder is mixed with water. Alpana is drawn by using a small piece of cloth in place of the usual brush. (After some time, the water dries up and leaves drawings in white precipitate behind). Rabindranath Tagore's Shantiniketan in Bengal is trying to preserve and develop this art form.

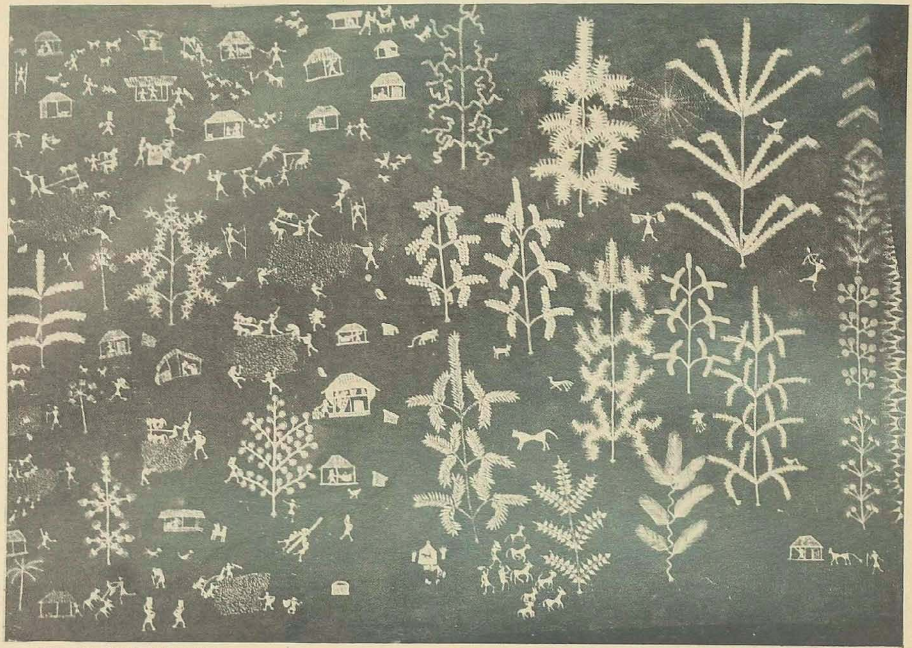
In Rajasthan, Rangawali is known as 'Mandana.' It is a multi-colour form of Rangawali. Apart from the floor, Mandana is drawn also on doors and walls. Although Mandana lines are primarily straight, it does not abhor curves and accepts triangles, quadrilaterals, pentagons and circles. The volume within these figures is not completely painted. It is filled in with coloured straight lines. During the Diwali festival, Mandana projects the shapes of the cows, of Krishna and of Laxmi's footsteps. This Mandana

120

Warli Wall Paintings.

121





122. Warli Wall Painting

123. Wall Drawing — Pokhra

has influenced the handicrafts and textiles of Rajasthan.

In Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, we come across '*Chowkapurna*,' one more form of Rangawali. It is similar to the Mandana of Rajasthan, with only one difference. Chowkapurna makes more effective use of squares. Sometimes they use a pattern of dots as a guideline for the final Chowkapurna pattern. Tradition believes that Sumitra, the stepmother of Rama, drew the first Chowkapurna in diamonds and pearls in order to express her joy at his safe return from his 14 years of exile in the wilderness of Dandakaranya.

In Maharashtra, Rangawali is known as 'Raangoli', a vernacularized form of the Sanskrit word 'Rangawali'. Beauty in simplicity is a special feature of this art in Maharashtra. Usually Maharashtrians use white and red powders as the medium for this art. The basic patterns are the symbols which have already been dealt with. In Maharashtra, complete white carries the stigma of inauspiciousness whereas red, being the colour of blood, is associated not only with life but also with the very essence of life. Therefore, except in the funeral rites, the white Raangoli carries the relief of at least a few red powder dots.

'Chaitrangan' is a pattern peculiar to Maharashtra. This is a rectangle open on one side and drawn in double line. This rectangle contains the Sun, the quarter Moon, the Lotus and the Go-padma, (i.e. footsteps of a cow) alongwith Radha and Krishna. All these figures are drawn in their stylized forms. This pattern also symbolises religious beliefs and credos. In ceremonial feasts, every plate has a Rangoli around it. The plate being always round, the Rangoli pattern take the shape of the Indian Arch, which is distinct from the Saracenic one. The Saracenic Arch is completely semi-circular. As against it, the Indian Arch is composed of small arcs of circles, joined one to the other. The apex of this arch is decorated with a symbolic drawing of three mango leaves which, by themselves, probably connote the Trinity. This arch is a characteristic feature of Hindu architecture. We will find Raangoli patterns in the courtyard, near the threshold and in the backyard of Hindu homes.

A pattern of dots is sometimes used as a guideline for Rangoli which, though accompanied by decorative patterns in soft, delicate curves, resembles more or less the geometrical patterns.

In Gujarat this art is popularly known as 'Sathiya' and shares the features of the Maharashtrian Raangoli and the Rajasthani Mandana.

In Andhra Pradesh Rangawali is known as 'Muggu'. This form is a complicated exercise in curves. Straight lines and sharp ends are completely eschewed. Sometimes they also use the dot pattern, but the Muggu lines, instead of joining these dots, usually run around them and culminate in a sort of a maze. Rice flour is used as the medium on special auspicious occasions. The usual material used is the powder of sea-shells. Muggu powder drawing changes its patterns every day of the week. Each day has a peculiar pattern associated with it. As a result, you know the day by looking at the Muggu pattern. The letter '*Shree*' and the symbols of 'Shankha' and 'Chakra' are the invariables. They are drawn near the threshold every day. On the 'Sankranti' day (14th January), Muggu becomes the product of the collective art of all the women in the village. Both sides of the road are decorated with Muggu. The ends of the drawing of each of the individual artists are so skilfully joined that it becomes a continuous running border decoration on the road.

In Karnataka Rangawali is a synthetic blending of the Maharashtrian Raangoli and the Muggu from Andhra Pradesh.

In Kerala, Rangawali is known as 'Puvidal'. This however, cannot exactly be called a form of powder drawing Rangawali, however, is the basis of this art. The material used to fill the volume is different. The Keralites use flowers, petals, leaves and stems in their Puvidal. 'Onam' is the festival when all houses blaze out in different colours because of the variety of Puvidal arrangements.

'Sanjhi' and 'Kajali' are two other forms of this art. The general principle behind them is the same. Sanjhi, however, is the prerogative of the virgins whereas Kajali is the privilege of the mothers.

The aboriginals of India, like the Gonds, the Pardhis, the Santhals, the Murias, the Katkaris, the Warlis, etc., have lived in this country for thousands of years and, yet, up to now have managed to live a life completely disassociated from the maddening crowds of the cities and the townships. This phenomenon has a special significance because it immunises them from the influence of the mass-culture which destroys the individual trends of smaller groups and tri[illegible]. In their homes, therefore, there is a grea[illegible] nance of finding Rangawali in its pristi[illegible] orm. It is worthwhile noting here tha[illegible] ngawali drawings of these tribals vary in their contents from region to region. The subjects change according to the geopraphic and climatic surroundings and yet the patterns developed by different tribes show an amazing similarity of form. The habitats of these tribes are separated from one another by miles of distances, hills, valleys and rivers. All the same the Rangawali of every tribe reflects a harmony with nature and with its concept of the Supreme Being. This harmony implies a sort of contentment and peace which makes the life of the tribe worthwhile. These aboriginals,

due to their proximity to the natural and multi-coloured beauty of the forest around their homes, have tried to copy it in their art. They have an inborn sense of proportion in size. Over and above this they seem to have developed an eye which perceives the beautiful. As a result their Rangawalis are as beautiful, as free and as instinctively intense as their life. Rangawali is essentially drawn on the floor in dry powders whereas the tribal pictures are drawn on the walls, in insoluble powders mixed with water.

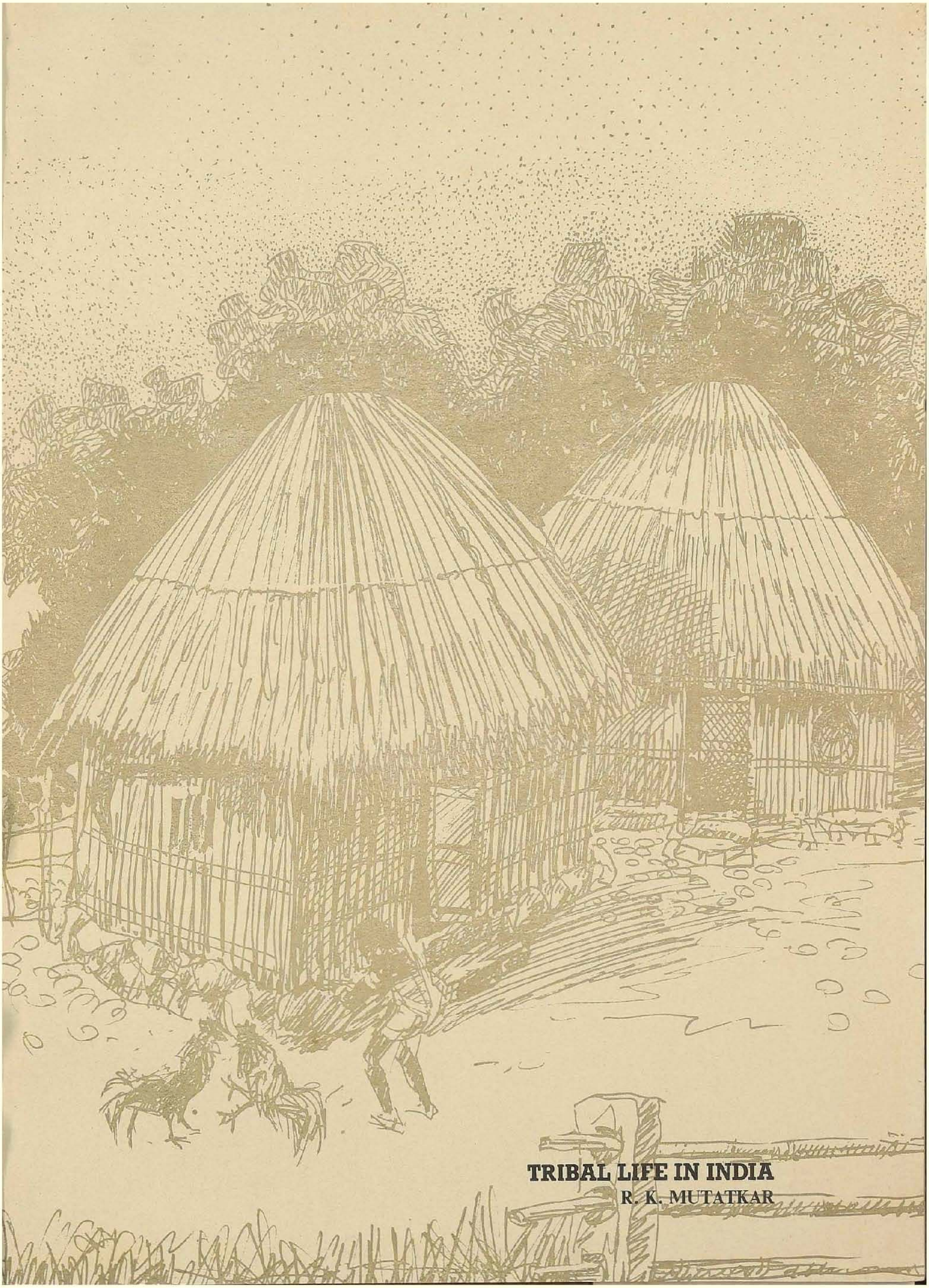
We, however, cannot think of an individual style in the context of the tribal Rangawali. Many times, one pattern is the product of many hands. As a result, a tendency to simplify the technique and the forms is inevitable. They usually represent the torsoes of human beings and animals through the juxtaposition of triangles, apex to apex. What is true of triangles is equally true of quadrilaterals and circles. This tendency to resort to simple figures is perhaps the product of their desire for simplification. We have to note here that this acceptance of the stylized simplification in set geometrical forms of all that is perceived is not deliberate. The art form takes its shape without any conscious efforts on the part of the artist. Their lines are very instinctive, direct and absolutely stylized. It is thus and thus alone that Rangawali acquires the status of folk art. Therefore, in the Rangawali of the Adivasis, there is no difference in two figures drawn by two artists. What can be drawn by one can be drawn by another. The question of innovation does not arise as it sins against tradition which, in the life of the Adivasis, is the sovereign determinant. The flow of the line and its force alone will reflect the difference in the individual efforts if there be any. These elements prevent folk arts from scaling aesthetic altitudes and thus reduce them to the level of crafts. It is because of this that the folk arts are judged more as crafts than arts.

As in the Rangawali of the elite, so in that of the Adivasis, appear some symbols which carry in them an association with natural and supernatural powers. We come across the figures of the Sun, the Moon, a monkey or a horse in the Adivasi-Rangawali. Along with them come figures like that of a horseman, a couple riding a horse, toddy-tappers, dancing men, etc. We must not, however, forget that all these figures are drawn by joining triangles, quadrilaterals and circles. These geometrical figures, juxtaposed in different formations, represent different concepts and provide a variety of images. It speaks of the excellence of the skill developed by these children of the forest that these set geometrical patterns are very much alive and can and do depict motion, which lends them life.

On the occasion of the wedding and the harvest festivals, the Adivasis draw these pictures on the walls. They use *geru* or rice flour as colours, while hay sticks are their crude brushes. This makeshift brush, (*bahari*) lends a tough vigour to the Adivasi-line which many times is beyond the reach of the sophisticated brush of many an art school product. Sometimes *Sindur* is also used as a colour to relieve the monotony of the white. Instinctively the human mind likes to indulge in the exuberence implicit in multi-coloured patterns. The tribals also do have this urge and manifest it in their wall drawings. The centre of these murals is a loose rectangle drawn in a multiple decorative border. All lines in this work are rhythmic. In the centre of the rectangle we find a figure which most probably represents divinity, accompanied by the representations of the Sun, the Moon, the stars and the Naga. This rectangle is framed by the symbolic trees which connote protection from the surrounding jungle.

The rest of the wall carries the drawings of the flora, the fauna, the crops and all human activities that are a part of tribal life. There is an intimate connection between the murals and wall drawings on the one hand and the socio-economic structure of tribal culture on the other.

Tribal art does not show any cognition of either shape or perspective. No drawing gives any idea of its depth. The rectilinear structure which is the basic determinant of all visible form seems to be the goal of tribal art. But here also we do not perceive any conscious effort behind the expression. The desire to depict the visible, coupled with limited skill in expression, seems to be the parent of these tribal drawings. Lines, naive natural, powerful, free and forceful, on a background with unspecified length and breadth, devoid of any depth, seem to be a peculiar feature of this art which, in these days of modernization, faces the danger of extinction.



TRIBAL LIFE IN INDIA

R. K. MUTATKAR

Tribal Life in India

R. K. Mutatkar

Indian Tribal Life has contributed to the creation of Indian heritage. In India, the tribal population constitutes about 7% of the total population i.e. about 40 millions. There are 424 tribal groups in India.

References to the tribals are found in Indian scriptures like Ramayan and Mahabharat. In Ramayan, there are references to *Kirat, Nishad* and *Shabar* tribal groups. Lord Rama had visited Shabar tribal groups and had tasted the berries offered by and old *Shabar* lady. In Mahabharat, there are references to tribal groups living in sub-himalayan regions. The legend of Ekalavya, a *Bhil,* as an expert archer who excelled in the art of archery is well known in Mahabharat. The *Bhil* tribals continue to draw their inspiration in archery from Ekalavya. The tribals in India have also played a leading role in the struggle for independence against British. During 1878 and 1947, the tribals in Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh had rebelled against British about 75 times.

It might be of interest to know that there are tribal belts within two hours journey from Bombay spread over between two trunk railway routes to Delhi. The tribal population in the various states in India are as under :

States	*Total population of Tribals* (in lakhs)	*Percentage to total population*
Andhra Pradesh	16.58	3.81
Assam	16.07	10.98
Bihar	49.33	8.75
Gujarat	37.34	13.98
Himachal Pradesh	1.42	4.09
Karnataka	2.31	0.79
Kerala	2.69	1.26
Madhya Pradesh	83.87	20.13
Maharashtra	29.34	5.86
Manipur	3.34	31.18
Meghalay	8.14	80.48
Nagaland	4.58	88.61
Orissa	50.72	23.11
Rajasthan	31.26	12.13
Tamil Nadu	3.12	0.76
Tripura	4.51	28.94
Uttar Pradesh	1.99	0.22
West Bengal	25.33	5.71

Andaman Nicobar	0.18	15.72
Arunachal	3.69	79.01
Dadra Nagar Haveli	0.64	83.38
Goa, Daman Diu	0.08	0.89
Laksha Dweep	0.33	92.35
Mizorum	3.13	94.26
India	380.15	6.94%

The most preponderant tribal groups in India are the Gond, Bhil and Santhal, each numbering about 4 million of population. The Gond are distributed in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, the Bhil in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, and the Santhals are found in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The tribal population in Eastern India located on the border of China and Burma is strategically very important The eastern tribals are divided into four exclusive tribal states, namely Nagaland, Arunachal, Mizoram and Meghalaya. These tribal groups belong to Mongolide racial type and speak Tibato-Burman languages. As a consequence, they have many ethnic qualities in common with Tibetan and Burmese tribals.

Tribals in India have been interacting with other caste groups in villages over the centuries. There has been mutual borrowing of cultural element amongst the tribals and non-tribals. In the field of religion, we find many common practices amongst tribal religions and great tradition of Hindu religion.

The tribals are nature worshippers and worship trees, water, mountains, sun and moon. The Hindus also do the same. At least one of the great Hindu God Lord Shiva appears like a tribal God. Even his son Lord Ganesh, the god with elephant's head, also appears totemistic. Great importance is attached to Monkey God Lord Hanuman amongst the Hindus. Some of the local deities of Bhils have been related to the great Hindu Gods or warriers in Mahabharat. The practice of animal sacrifice is common amongst tribals and many caste Hindus. Even the forms of worship and the use of locally available grains in rituals is common among Hindus and the tribals. It is thus obvious that there has been an interaction between the tribals and non-tribals and this has helped the formation of cultural fabric of India. The great tradition of Hindu religion has also on the other hand being transmitted to the tribals through dances and dramas. In many tribal groups, Brahmins officiate at the marriages as among caste Hindus. (There is great similarity between the tribal and caste Hindus.) There is great similarity between the tribal and caste Hindu art forms, and the use of grain flour for paintings on the walls of the houses is commonly done.

Tribal social organisation, however, is quite distinct from that of caste Hindu social organisation. There is no child marriage among tribals. Since bride price as a consideration or compensation is given to the bride's parents by the bridegroom, the status of tribal woman is better as compared to caste Hindu women. Tribal families are of nuclear type. Kinship bonds are quite strong among tribals as also among caste Hindus. Ancestor worship is also common and memorial and raised for the ancestors. The most distinctive difference between caste Hindus and tribals is that caste society is based on the principle of division of labour or specialisation of occupation, so much so that many caste names are the names of the occupational groups. Among tribal groups, there is no division of labour and everybody does everything that is required, to be done in day-to-day life.

There is greater sexual freedom among the tribal youth. Pre-marital courtship and sexual contacts among boys and girls is not uncommon and is not looked down upon by the elders. There are youth dormitaries where boys and girls dance together in the evenings.

Another important characteristic of tribal life is that the entire material culture including their house, kitchenware, musical instruments utensils and ornaments are made by themselves from the locally available material. To that extent, the tribals hold a symbiotic relationship with the nature.

About half of the tribals in India live in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar. Tribals live in significant numbers in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Assam, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. According to Indian constitution the tribals are referred to as Scheduled Tribes. The Gond, Santhal and Bhil number more than 2.5 million each while Oraon, Naga, Khond and Munda range between half to one million. Territorially, India tribals can be divided into four groups:

1) *The North and northeast region* :

The important tribals are Bhotia, Tharu, Lepcha, Naga, Garo, Khasi, Dafla, Kuki, Abor, and Mikir.

2) *Central region* :

In this region, the largest concentration of tribals are found. In Bihar, Santhal, Munda, Oraon and Birhor; in Orissa, Bondo, Khond, Savra and Juang; in Madhya Pradesh Gond, Baiga, Korku and Bhujia; in Rajasthan, the Bhil and on the Deccan plateau, Chenchu, Kolam and Koya.

3) *Western region* :

In this region, the Warli, Katkari, Mahadeo Koli, Thakur are some of the tribal groups who live around Bombay and the Bhils, Andh and Kolam. In Gujarat, we find Warli, Bhil, Dubla and Waghri.

4) *Southern region* :

In this region, there are many small tribal groups. Important among them are Toda, Badaga, Kora, Irula, Kurumba, Ervallan, Adiyan and Arandan.

The Indian tribals have always been coming in contact with other cultural groups and they can be classified on the basis of this contact as under.

(1) Tribals not coming in contact with others.

(2) Tribals come in contact with other groups but still maintain their cultural identity and social organisation.

(3) Social organisation changing according to caste organisation due to contacts.

(4) Being retained as untouchable groups due to cultural contacts.

(5) Having developed their own identity in Indian society due to better economical conditions and political power.

Economic Organisation

The economic system of Indian tribals are of three types :

(1) Food collection, (2) Shifting cultivation, and (3) Settled cultivation.

Besides these, there are three other types :

(1) Pastoral, (2) Based on specific occupation, and (3) Occupation classified as antisocial or criminal. The tribal groups in the later three categories are very small in number. Usually, no tribal group restricts itself to only one occupation. The tribals in the food collection stage, whereby they collect roots and tubers and subsist by hunting and fishing, usually live in the forest belts. Birhor and Kharia from Bihar; Kuki, Konyak and Naga from Assam and northeast, hill Maria and Gond from Bastar, Juang from Orissa, Chenchu from Andhra Pradesh and Kadar from Kerala may be included in this group. These tribals also collect certain forest products like honey, gum and other berries which they sell to the traders. Kamar, Baiga from Madhya Pradesh, Konda Reddy from Andhra Pradesh, Hill Maria from Maharashtra and certain Naga groups from Assam prefer shifting cultivation as the mode of production. Shifting cultivation is usually known as Zhum cultivation and results in destruction of forests. Attempts are therefore being made to wean away the tribals from shifting cultivation. Many tribal groups in northeast region perform terrace cultivation and make use of irrigation. The majority of the tribal groups in India, particularly those living in plain areas perform settled cultivation. The polyandrous Toda from Nilgiris are Pastoral. They make their living on milk and milk products of buffallows and exchange them with other tribal groups in the same area such as with Badaga and Kota. Assur from Bihar and Agaria from Madhya Pradesh live by ironsmithy. There are many nomadic tribes such as Kolhati, Kanjar, Kaikadi etc. These tribal groups make their living by making ropes, developing piggary and by exhibiting monkeys and bears who mimic humans. Some of the tribals like Sansi, Berad, Banjara, and Lodha, which were classified as criminals during British period are now called Ex-criminal tribes or Vimukta Jati.

The predominant concept of property in tribal India continues to be community oriented instead of individual or family oriented. The lands and forests, ponds and rivers are owned by the community. The economy is based on production-consumption pattern and there is usually absence of distribution in the tribal economic system. Things are valued in tribal society by their use instead of their exchange value. The exchanges are invariably in goods or by barter. Religious rituals are connected with every stage in economic production which means that the aim of production is not commercial in nature. Usually, weekly markets are held in tribal areas and tribals satisfy their needs from these markets. Due to barter economy and principle of value in use, the tribals are exploited by the non-tribals in all economic dealings. The Government, therefore, has started fair price shops for the tribals and are encouraging co-operative societies for the collection of various agricultural products and forest produce and have arranged for their sale. The tribal areas in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh abound in natural resources. As a result, heavy industries have started in these tribal belts. This has also resulted in the exploitation of the tribal people, since the cash economy has suddenly been introduced in these tribal areas. Many tribal groups like Santhals, Ho, Gond, Bhuiya and Munda have started working as labourers in the factories. This has created problems about their cultural identity. Due to close relationship of the tribals with forests, the forest development schemes are being introduced to involve tribals in afforestation.

Social Organisation

Family is the basic primary group among the Indian tribals. Most of the tribal groups are of patriachial type. However, there are certain matriarchial groups in India such as Khasi and Garo tribals in Assam. The property in these matriarchial tribal groups is passed on from mother to daughter and there is matrilocal residence. There are certain polyandrous tribal groups in India. The Toda of Nilgiri and Khasa of Sub-Himalayan regions are famous for their polyandry. Paternity is established by certain rituals and it has nothing to do with biological paternity. In Maharashtra, there has been a case of polyandrous family whereby five Pandavas shared a common wife Droupadi. Polygamy is quite common amongst all tribal groups, though it is limited only to rich tribals, since the custom of bride price requires a person to be a man of means to be able to afford more than one wife.

The tribals are divided into sub-tribes and clans. The Gond are divided into sub-tribal groups, some of which like the Muria and Maria, Rajgond, and Koya have become independent tribal groups. There

is no inter-marriage between these subtribes. Naga tribals are also divided into various subtribes. Toda are also divided into two phratries. The tribal groups are divided into exogamous clans. Santhals are divided into more than hundred clans while there are more than fifty clans amongst Hoa and Munda. Most of the clans are totemistic. If the totem is an animal, the animal is not killed by that particular clan.

In Indian tribal groups, most of the kinship terms are of the classificatory type i.e. one kinship term denoting more than one relationship; as for example, there may be a common term for mother, mother's sister and father's brother's wife. This type of terminology indicate kin marriages. Such marriages are also quite common amongst the Hindus of south India. Usually, there is a jakling relationship between a person and his wife's younger sister or between a woman and her husband's younger brother. This is also found amongst the caste Hindus. This custom indicates that a man can marry his wife's younger sister and a woman can mary her husband's younger brother.

There are various methods of mate selection in India. Payment by the bridgroom to the bride's parents is most common way of securing a bride. In case of financial difficulties, a person works for specific period in the household of the bride as a part of payment. Such marriage by service is found among Gond, Birhor, Baiga, Kuki and Purmas. Marriage by exchange is also prevalent among many tribal groups whereby two families exchange their sons and daughters in marriage which solves the problem of payment of bride price. Marriage by capture is an approved method in some of the tribal groups such as Naga, Gond, Bhils, Ho and Santhals. Marriage by elopement is very common amongst Bhils. This type of marriage reduces the amount of bride price that is to be paid. Among the Santhals, Ho and Baiga, marriage by intrusion is found whereby the girl enters the house of a boy whom she wishes to marry and starts living with him, and refuses to be driven out. There is no child marriage in tribal India. Widow marriage is quite common. Levirate, Sororate i.e. marrying husband's younger brother and wife's younger sister is quite common. Similarly, marriage among cousins i.e. with mother's brother's children or father's sister's children is also quite common. This practice is commonly found among many caste Hindus also. Boys and girls in tribal groups have complete freedom in choosing their own mates contrary to Hindu practices, whereby parents choose the mates for their children. Premarital sex relations are ignored in tribal India. In case of pregnancy the boy and girl marry each other. Relationship among young men and women has been institutionalised in tribal India through youth dormitories.

Youth dormitories are found in almost all the groups in eastern and northeastern region. However, Ghotul among Muria has become very famous due to the detailed description given by Verrier Elwin. Ghotul is a hut, like all other dormitories where young men and women meet every evening. They dance, gossip and also sleep in that hut. Sex training is also given by elder boys and girls to the younger ones. The young men and women also help villagers in agricultural operations, hunting and fishing. The youth dormitories, in short, is a traditional school in tribal area which is managed by younger generation. Most of the marriages are settled in youth dormitories.

Although premarital sex relations are ignored in tribal areas, adultery is considered a very serious offence. Usually adultery results in either divorce or murder. Divorce is socially acceptable in all the tribal groups. Many times a new husband of the divorced woman returns part of the bride price to the first husband of the woman. All the matters concerning adultery, bride price, elopement are settled by tribal. *Panchayat*.

Death is considered as an accident in tribal India. Death is caused due to sorcery and witchcraft, wrath of God or due to the black magic. Usually dead body is buried. However, in some tribal groups like the Warli, Thakur who have come in contact with caste Hindus for a long time, dead bodies are being cremated. Among Bhil, all things belonging to the dead person, and food which would last him for a year is also buried with the dead body. Memorials are erected at the site of burial. These are usually made of stones or wood. The size of the memorial and carving on the memorial would depend upon the status of the dead person.

Women in tribal area

In matriarchial families. women's status is considered high. It is believed that in pastoral societies and agricultural societies, women's status is low since the matters are predominantly managed by men. Among food collecting tribes like Kadar, Malapantram, Palliyan, Irula, Paniyan and Chenchu, in the absence of inheritance of property, men and women have equal rights. In societies with patriarchial residence women are under restrictions. Amongst Toda, women are subjected to many religious taboos since it is believed that menstruation and child birth, would pollute and adversely affect the production of milk. In most tribal groups, women have considerable sexual freedom in premarital stage. They also have freedom to divorce. Women are considered to be endowed with knowledge of witchcraft. Among Khasa triabals, even a married woman enjoys complete freedom when she visits her parent's family, whilst she is under restriction in family of her husband.

Religion

Indian tribals are animists and nature worship-

pers. They worship their ancestors, fields, trees, rivers, since they believe that these are inhabited by spirits. Amongst Munda, Ho and other such tribal groups, they believe in extra human powers which is referred to as Bonga'. In all the tribal groups they have their own stories about the origin of earth and origin of their own tribe. Tribals believe in black magic and many times it is used for maintaining order in the society. In the tribal groups, there are specialised persons who are called Baiga, Bhagat, Guni who are shamans and are also medicine men. Fowl are usually sacrificed to ward off the evil spirits and diseases. In case of nuisance by tigers, charmed stones are tied at the entrance of the village. Tribal groups, who have come in contact with caste Hindus, have also adopted Hindu Gods like Rama, Krishna, Hanuman, Ganapati, and Mahadeva, besides their local deities.

Tribal Art

Indian tribal art is very rich. The carvings on the walls and doors and memorials, dress and ornaments, face masks which are used while dancing, deities etc. clearly indicate the artistic dimension of tribal culture. The dress of the Naga, basketry and musical instruments and fishing traps of the Mizo and other tribals, are very artistic. Tribal women are greatly fond of colour beads and their hair styles are very elaborate. Amongst the Muria, combs are exchanged between young men and women as memento of love. Sea shells, particularly the cowries are used for making necklaces and also for making dress. Wooden tobacco pouches are very elaborately carved. Some of the musical instruments are also artistically carved. At the time of ceremonies and rituals, artistic designs drawn on the walls of houses. According to Verrier Elwin, Indian tribal art belongs to the great tradition of India. The geometric, symbolic designs that the tribals make go back to the ancient civilisation of Indus valley. Tribal art forms are now being commercialised by the adoption of their designs on Indian textiles and handicrafts.

Tribal heritage in India is varied. Although, tribals seem to be living in isolation in the forests, hills and vallies, they have been in constant contact with the tradition of the regional people. Interaction of the caste Hindus and tribals has led to the richness of regional cultures. In the democratic set up, whereby tribals are being inducted in the main stream of Indian life, representatives of the tribals are the participants in decision making process at the state and national level. The tribals are being exposed to formal education and are getting benefits of science and technology. However, care is being taken that the cultural identity of the tribals is not lost in this process of integration. The whole process of tribal development is going according to five principles enunciated by Jawaharlal Nehru.

1) Tribals should develop according to their own genuis. No pressure should be brought on them and their traditional culture and arts be encouraged.
2) Rights of tribals with regard to land and forests be accepted.
3) As far as possible, local people should be educated to accept responsibilities of administration and development. In the initial stages, outsiders may be introduced in the tribal area but it should be avoided as far as possible.
4) Complex administration should be avoided in the tribal areas since it would confuse them. As far as possible, the administration should function through their social and cultural institutions.
5) Tribal development should not be measured in terms of money spent but in terms of development of quality life.

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥

माझा मऱ्हाटाचि बोलु कवतिके !

विजयी विश्व तिरंगा प्यारा !

આપણે બધા ભગવાનના બાળકો છીયે.

করিয়াছেও যেমন অনেকটা কাজের লোক হইয়াছে

ନିଶ୍ଚ ଏଥାଣ ଟାକିଜଷର ଥାପଣଙ୍କ ପାଇ

ਪੜਨੀ ਲਈ ਜੀਵਨ ਭਰ ਆਮਦਨੀ ਦੀ ਗਾਰੰਟੀ !

செந்தமிழ் நாடு என்று சொல்லும்

రెండు-బెండ్ ట్రాన్సిస్టర్ రూ.

ഈ അടയാളം കാണ

ಮಾಡುತ್ತದೆ

THE FLOWERING OF INDIAN LANGUAGES

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR

124 Tribal girls

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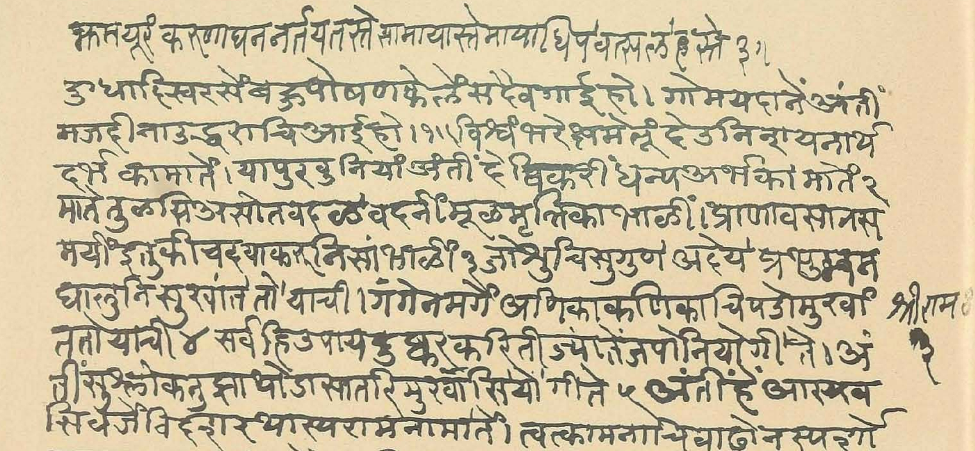


कमयूर करुणाघन नर्तयतसे आमायास्ते मायाधिप यासल्ल है से ३१
उधारिस्वरसें बकुपोषण केल्लें स देवगाई हो। गोमयदानें अंती
मजहीनाउद्धराचि आई हो।१।विश्वं भरे भ्रमे लू देउनि न्यायनार्य
दर्श कामातें। यापुरवुनियां अंती देखिकरी धन्य अर्णका मातें २
मातें तुळसिअसोतयद ळ वदनीं मूळमृत्तिका भाळीं। प्राणावसानसं
मयीं इतुकी चद्याकरुनि सांभाळीं ३ जो शुचिसुगुण अदेय
धाल्लुनि सुरवांत तो याची। गंगेनमगें आणिकाकणिका चि पडो मुरवां
तती याची ४ सर्व हिउपाय दुष्कर करिती ज्यातेंजपोनियोगी ते। अं
तीं सुश्लोकनु म्हा थोडासा तरि मुरवीं सियो गीते ५ अंतीं हें आस्थव
सिचजें विद्दार धास्य राम नामातें। तत्काम नाचे याठोन स्पर्शे
अन्यकाम नामातें ६ श्रीनारायणनामा भवदाश्रित जन सुरवें
अजामिळतो। बाध्यावें लुब्ध अंतीं म्यांजें साचे मुरवें अजामिळतो ७
श्रीराम
३

The Flowering of Indian Languages

S. N. Gajendragadkar

Introduction

Diversity and that again not limited to one field is a striking feature of India which has intrigued many, not only foreigners but Indians as well. This diversity is reflected in a multitude of fields. The rich colourful variety in Indian dresses, different articles of food, each delicious in its own way — bewildering variety in customs and religious beliefs make a fascinating study. The plurality of languages is another field which is obviously very striking. To the undiscerning student of languages, particularly one who is foreign to its behaviour, the phenomenon is so baffling. All this is on the surface. A little closer look at the picture will show that underlying this diversity, there is a unity mainly brought about by Sanskrit which has considerably influenced Indian life and languages for more than three thousand years and still continues to do so. Sanskrit has been and still is, a great unifying force. It is through its literature — literary, philosophical and Scientific — and language, a pan-Indian ethos, a way of life embracing different fields is being developed. This has been made possible by the catholicity of Indian mind which is willing to appreciate good, whatever the source and is ever ready to assimilate features from other races and religious, whenever found beneficial. This is reflected in the behaviour of Indian languages. India is a land where more than hundred and fifty languages, apart from a very number of dialects are spoken. The 1971 language census records 1309 mother-tongues. Their linguistic parentage is different, each family having its own peculiar features. These languages however have lived as neighbours all these years, relatively peacefully. It is a pleasing feature of Indian life that this multiplicity of languages was never a serious bar to normal routine communication. An uneducated devotee starting his pilgrimage in the extreme north could travel all over and come to Kanyakumari, the Southern end of India, to pray. The gradually increasing communication between people living in different parts of India, the pressures and compulsions of modern life have prompted Indians to appreciate this linguistic picture and study such of the neighbouring languages as are needed. The establishment of bilingual|multilingual communities helps this process of

assimilation. The resulting picture is a classic example of synthesis. The give and take of languages belonging to different families has naturally resulted in the diffusion of linguistic features and the emergence of a pan-Indian language is perhaps not an idle dream.

This short picture is an attempt to present you a true linguistic picture of India — past and contemporary.

Language

Language is a unique possession of man. It is in fact a miracle. A few neural responses, muscular movements in the articulatory mechanism produce sound waves which penetrate the listener's ears and set in kindred vibrations. At once the marvellous conglomoration of nerves nuclie etc. which we call brain makes the listener aware of the sounds produced by the speaker and through the code which we call language, the meaning is understood.

It is the most cherished possession of man, very complex and intriguing. It is a fertile ground for speculation and scientific study. It is a possession which man cherishes most. It encompasses the entire gamut of our life and there is hardly a sphere of activity which it does not touch. Man therefore can be defined as Homo loques. He is the languagised mammal. It is language which is responsible for all our progress as well as ills. Just as it is used to sing the praise of Gods, impassioned love lyrics, profound philosophical speculations, it is equally utilised to propogate falsehood and abuse our enemies. Through all living organisms have some kind of a communication system, there is nothing as complex and versatile as language. It relies primarily on accoustic signals. Whereas fire ants use chemical signals and honey bees use tactile, man uses sounds. Language study is essentially, except for the specialists in the field, a study of vocal symbols. There must have been a period when there was no language but as an invention we almost know nothing about it. True, we have travelled incredibly swiftly from the kind of noise which a chimpanzee makes to the noises which human beings make. The physical equipment is no doubt changed, human brain is enlarged at a prodigious rate. But this bio-mass is not the relevant factor. The connection of brain with the visual area, the area of the manipulation of hands, temporal and frontal lobes are responsible for this development. Whether it is a special gift or a mere continuation of animal communication with certain distinctive features, it is indeed a unique development.

Language is not logical construct. It is in fact so illogical and capricious that only a blasphemer could attribute it to a deity. It is a miracle but with flaws. All language groups do not utilise the articulatory mechanism the same way. There is no uniformity in the use of grammatical categories and form classes. Even in the same language family we notice that while Marathi and Gujarati work on three gender system, Hindi and Sindhi content themselves with two. None of them is any worse for it. The same thing in fact to a larger extent, applies to meaning. Words like शिक्षा, प्रवचन, हस्ताक्षर taken from Sanskrit mean differently in Hindi and Marathi. Even within the same linguistc community a 'no' might mean a just no, 'damn it' and when used by a lady 'yes' depending upon the situational factors, as well as paralinguistics situations. Look at the use of 'fix' in the United States. To fix tyre, fixed income, fix a picture on the wall and finally, hell of a fix'. In Sanskrit, कलत्र and दारा mean wife but the former is used in the neuter gender while the latter in masculine and always in plural. Pants is plural but shirt can be both. Howsoever unpredictable language is, it has a profound influence on man and can be said to be mainly responsible for man's progress. It is a powerful instrument to communicate all our thoughts, emotions, experiences, howsoever complex. It is impossible to imagine a community without language.

Linguistic Picture in India

India is a land of many races and languages. Both go back to a hoary past and both have contributed a great deal in the making of modern India. The most ancient were the Negrito tribes, representing the paleolithic stage of development. The Andamanese belong to this. This race has virtually vanished from India without making an impact, They came from austric tribes and are now found living in jungles and hills of central and north India. They were referred to as निषादऽ in Sanskrit literature. The presence of words like नारिकेल, तांबूल अलाबु indicate that we owe to this race the introducation of these objects. Conception of lunar year, counting time by तिथीऽ belife in plurality of souls are austric in origin. The language family of this race is agglutinative in character. In this family not only suffixes, but prefixes and infixes are utilised to form words, e.g. dal = to strike and da-pa-l = strike each other. Maram means great and ma-na-ran means greatness and ma-pa-ran is 'very great'. Here there is an abundance of vowels and consonents and Mundali language has even retroflex vowels. In this family, large number of words are found for individual things and ideas but abstract terms are neglected, e.g. in Santali, there are twelve verbs for different types of carrying-on head, back, astride the hip, under the arm etc. (dipil, gugu, haao, haarmat etc.), you have terms for my mother (engan) but seldom for mother (enga). The number system as in Sanskrit has singular, dual, plural. The male-female distinction is shown by prefix, e.g. andia-kuul (male tiger) and eenga-kuul is tigress.

Next came the Dravidians. This race's speaking languages which go by the name of the race has a population over thirteen crores i.e. 24% of total popu-

lation. It is a significant thing that amongst the existing races in India, none is indigenious. The ancestors of us all have come from outside. That all these lived here in harmony and peace is a classic example of synthesis. Bishop Caldwell, a great name in Dravidian Linguistics held the view that Dravidians were related to Finish and allied languages of Europe and Asia. The vocabulary of core items supports this view. An accepted view is that the Dravidians belonged to the Mediterranian race living in Mesapotamia and were pushed into India by way of Baluchistan because of the pressure exercised by the Akkadians and Semitics. While making India their home, the Dravidians exercised profound influence on Indian life and languages. They originally lived in the Indus and Gangetic Valleys but were ultimately forced by the Aryans who came after them to go south. The term Dravidian is a hybrid expression formed by Dravida plus an (English suffix).

This family of languages is next in importance to Indo-Aryan in terms of the area over which it is spoken, its literary value and influence on other language groups.

There are twenty-two languages which go under the name 'Dravidian' and in terms of the number of speakers, the major languages can be in the following order — Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam, Gondi, Tulu etc. Mention can be made of Brahui, spoken by about two lakhs of people in Baluchistan and Sindh. Brahui is strongly influenced by Baluchi, an Iranian language on the one hand and Sindhi and Lahenda, Indo-Aryan languages on the other. The Dravidian languages can be divided into two groups — Southern and Central. The former is the major group consisting of our cultivated languages — Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada. The most important of these and the oldest is Tamil. It has a long unbroken history of rich literature dating from 3 A. D. Its grammatical work Tolkappiyam is to Tamil as sacred and authoritative as the अष्टाध्यायी of पाणिनि is to Indo-Aryans. The modern colloquial Tamil is considerably different from literary Tamil. Malayalam spoken by more than twenty-one million people is the official language of Kerala State. Since it was originally a dialect of Tamil, no wonder it is very close to Tamil. The peculiar feature of this language is the break between spoken and written styles. Kannada is another important language spoken in the state of Karnatak. In the course of its history, the language has undergone considerable changes. Telugu, the official language of Andhra State, is considerably influenced by Sanskrit and its neighbouring languages. Tulu is another language spoken in the small area on the high coast between Kannada and Malayalam. It cannot boast of a long literary tradition but is being cultivated now. The other languages in this group like Badaga, Toda, Kota, are non-literary. They are spoken in Nilgiri Hills.

The central group of languages, not as important as the southern group, consists of four languages, Gondi which is the most important of this group is divided into number of dialects. Bastar — M. P. State and N.E. portion of Hydrabad constitute its area. It is conceivable that the whole of this area was once *Gondi* but the continuous onslaught of Indo-Aryan drove it into backward areas. As a result it is now spoken in isolated pockets. *Kolami* in the Wardha District of M.P., Pari spoken by a small community in area south of Bastar, *Kui, Kuvi* are the other dialects in this group.

This family is also agglutinative but not to the same extent as Munda. As compared to Sanskrit and modern Indo-Aryan languages, it is rather poor in phonemes, particularly consonants, e.g. corresponding to Indo-Aryan|k,kh,g,gh; Tamil has only|k|and the same applies to other varieties of stops. Of course this represents the early stage. Later as a result of contact with Sanskrit, the Dravidian languages developed these sounds first in Sanskrit borrowed words but later in genuine. Dravidian works also. Only their distribution changes language-wise. In spoken Tamil the voice sounds (b, d, g) occur in intermediate position particularly after nasal. In Malayalam, aspirated stops are available in initial as well as medial positions but are vioceless (kh,th,ph). The formation of words is by a process of suffixation, prefixes and in-fixes being absent. These languages form their negation in a peculiar way. It is either expressed lexically through negative verbs like al|il (not to be), e.g. maram illei (There is no tree) — Tamil or by interposing a vowel usually a-in the root, e.g. in Telugu ceey-a-nu (I do not do) ceey-avu (you sg. do not do); etc. Imitative and Echo words are characteristic of Dravidian vocabularly. The former includes onomatopoetic words as well as image bearing words like Kanakanaventu (in high fever) or gadagadatinu (to eat quickly) in Tamil. Echo words consist of rhythmical reduplication in which first syllable of the original word is changed. Usually it is|ki|or|gi|cf| meecai-kiicai in Tamil (small tables; cf Marathi टेबल टिबल, makkalu-gikkalu in Kannada meaning various children cf Marathi मुल–बिल etc.

Tibeto-Burman

After the Dravidians, came the Tibeto-Burmans. This race exercised least influence on our life and culture. This group enjoys the unique feature of having the largest number of languages but lowest % of population. 79% the people speaking these languages are referred to as किरातऽ in Sanskrit texts. Their languages belong to Indo-chinese family, the other members being Thai and Chinese. The people speaking these languages live in the mountainous regions of Northern and Eastern India. The Tibeto-Burman languages are conveniently divided

into 2 sub-groups : (1) Tibeto-Himalayan (2) Assam Burmese. An Important language belonging to the Bhotia group of the 1st sub-group is Newari. This was the official language of Nepal till it was supplanted by Nepali after the conquest by the Gurkhas. The language is rich in Buddhist literature. Lepcha, another language of this group is the official language of Sikkim. The Assam-Burmese group is found spoken in Eastern India, particularly Assam. This area, in fact, is marked by great linguistic diversity and may be because of lack of communication every group is full of a number of dialects. Boda, e.g. has 9 and Naga has 18 dialects. *Manipuri* belongs to this group.

A peculiar feature of this family is that here tone plays a significant part. This means the same sounds pronounced with different tones convey different meaning. There are 3 tones — falling, rising and level and their interplay conveys a variety of meanings. Gender category is differently represented in different groups. In Korborok language, adjectives are utilised to indicate gender. In another language Ao, belonging to Naga group, gender is based on natural classes and different gender markers are used for human and non-human nouns.

Aryan Languages

The race which came after Dravidians was Aryan. It exercised a profound influence on Indian life, ethos and literature, so much so that India came to be identified with it. It is generally agreed that Aryans came to India by 1500 B.C. from Iran via Afganistan. 'Arya' in fact is a common term for two ethnic groups — Indo-Aryans and Iranians. Both these groups at a previous period of history lived together in Balx (Bactria) in the Oxus valley. During their stay, they developed a common culture, shared religious views and moral values and spoke a language known as Indo-Iranian. This group, after living together split, one branch came to India and was known as Aryans. They actually did not use the term 'Indian' to refer to themselves. The term owes its origin to Greeks (Sindu — Hindu — Ind). These Aryans did not come at one time. They came in clans and were not a homogenous group. The settlement of Aryans into this sub-continent was not a case of veni, vidi vici (They came, they saw, they conquered) of a superior race over the inferior. It was actually a mingling of two civilization, each of which had developed its own way of life, moral values and religious beliefs. The Dravidians — the dominant group before the Aryans — had their own material civilization as reflected in Mohanjodaro and Harappa excavations, better than Aryans. The belief in Karma theory and transmigration of souls, now such an integral part of Hindu life, is a gift from the Dravidians to Aryans. The gods शिव, रुद्र were a part of Dravidian mythology. The Aryans came into conflict with the Dravidians and gradually drove them south. This had a beneficial result. The pan-Indian ethos, culture and common linguistic features are a result of the mingling of the two races. It was classic example of synthesis.

Though the Aryans belonged to different groups, one common thing bound them together. This was Sanskrit language. The word means a polished literary form of speech of common man. It had two principal dialects — the उदीच्य spoken in North-West and Punjab and the प्राच्य eastern U.P., Aundh and Bihar.

The majority of languages spoken in India today — each having its own literature and literary tradition have descended from Sanskrit through the intermediate stage of Prakrit. Since Sanskrit was principally the language of the elite and more a literary language, a speech form for a common man cannot be ruled out.

The Indian languages having a filial link with Sanskrit are those which are spoken in northern and central India, parts of Deccan as far as Goa and Sri Lanka across the ocean. This can legitimately be described as a dominant group because of its numerical strength (73.94% of population speaks one or the other language of this group), richness of literature and its impact of Indian life — cultural, religious and philosophical. All through its long chequered history, Sanskrit has retained its supremacy and acted as a unifier and feeder in different degree, not only of its own languages but even others belonging to different families.

The Indo-Aryan linguistic area is divided into different groups, each having its own share of dialects, major or minor. In the case of some languages, particularly Hindi, the languages and dialects so imperceptibly shade into each other that the dividing line becomes difficult.

These languages can be classified, on the basis of Geography, into 3 distinct groups — Eastern, Central, Western-Northern.

Eastern Group — The principal languages here are Assamese, Bengali, Oriya. To their West is Bihari with its three major dialects — Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri.

Central Group — (A) The major part of central India is occupied by Hindi. In fact, Hindi can be treated as a blanket term under which shelter languages and dialects, each having its own structure and vocabulary. A few of them are not even mutually intelligible. Hindi is principally divided into two speech forms — Western Hindi and Eastern Hindi. In fact, because of their linguistic peculiarities, they are

regarded as two separate languages. The former includes High Hindi (literary Hindi), Urdu, Bundeli, (Delhi, Rohtak, Bangru, Patiala area) Kanauji and Vraj. The Eastern group contains Avadhi, Bagehi and Chattisgadi. The much discussed term Hindustani is applied to a speech form spoken in the upper Gangetic doab, Rohilkhand and East of Ambala District in Punjab. It has three forms—colloquial and two literary. This colloquial Hindustani is generally understood in most of India, though in varying degrees and thus is a means of intercourse for large sections of Indian people. Hindi and Urdu are its literary forms. The former is written in Devanagari script and differs from Urdu in phonology and vocabulary. The vocabulary of Hindi is drawn largely from Sanskrit. Sanskrit in fact continues to be its source for coining expressions for different items in the field of culture, technology and science. Apart from Sanskrit words like प्रसन्नता, रूची, आमोद Hindi uses expressions like अभियंता, दूरध्वनि etc. In addition to native Hindi words, it has a good number of Perso-Arabic words. Urdu, on the other hand is written in Perso-Arabic script and for vocabulary, it relies largely on Persian. It uses terms like वज़ीरे आज़म (for प्रधान मंत्री) तलब (for इच्छा) etc.

Urdu has a status in north. Its use is not confined to Muslim community. In fact a large number of Hindi scholars and educated people like the Late Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, late Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru spoke Urdu fluently and effectively. Actually it was then a language of culture for Hindus also. In fact, its spread was such that one could not get a clerk to write a plaint or deed in Nagari script. It is a great pity that a communal colour is being given to the language issue and Urdu is being considered as a language of Muslims. It is this unfortunate dichotomy between Hindi and Urdu which prompted the zealous but mistaken advocates of these two languages to make an artificial attempt to purge these languages of what they regarded as foreign elements. This has done damage to both. The origin and spread of Hindustani is partly due to this tendency. Hindustani represents a form of spoken language which avoids the extreme positions of being highly Sanskritised or Persianized and again as a compromise, Gandhiji advocated the use of both scripts — Nagari and Perso-Arabic.

It is obvious that Urdu can not be considered as link language. So far as high Hindi is concerned, a large section of educated people advocates very eloquently its claim for lingua franca. To them the high % of Sanskritised words is not a handicap but a blessing. It is however not a majority language as is claimed by its champions. Then again a number of regional languages are as much developed, if not more, and can boast of literature — creative and technical which excels Hindi. Therefore the claim of Hindi for a superior status is resented by them. Hence the claim of Hindustani (Khadi Boli) for the position of a link language seems to be strong. It is not a state language and is thus free of intra-state rivalries. It is a neutral language in the sense it is not identified with a particular region. It is also much more widely understood than any other speech form in India.

Central group - (B) Rajastani, Gujarati and Marathi belong to this group. The former is spoken over a large area though thinly populated. The major dialect is *Marwari. Gujarati* borders on *Rajastani* in South West and closely resembles it. *Marathi* represents the Aryan outpost in Deccan. *Konkani* which is closely allied to it lies in the extreme south.

Western and Northern group : The principal languages are *Punjabi, Lahenda* spoken in Western Punjab, and *Sindhi, Kacchi* spoken in Kutch is a transition dialect between *Sindhi* and *Gujarati.*

A group of closely related languages and dialects spoken on the slopes of Himalayas is known as Pahari. *Nepali, Kumani* and *Garhvali* in the central are some of the languages belonging to this group. There is another group called as *Dardic* spoken in North-West. In early literature it was referred to as पैशाची, a cover term which for obvious reasons was later abandoned. Three language groups are included in this family I Kafir II Khowar II Dard which includes Kashmiri.

Sinhalese spoken in Sri Lanka and Gypsy dialects spread over Asia and Europe are also Indo-Aryan Languages.

All these languages called as Indo-Aryan have a filial link with Sanskrit and hence it is natural that not only in vocabulory but in phonology and grammar, they share many features in common. Some of them have developed their distinctive features. Compulsory lengthening of the vowel which is a characteristic of many languages as reflected in the formation of दात, चाक, दन्त चक्र etc., from दन्त चक्र respectively is not noticed in Sindhi, Punjabi and Lahenda. Assamese has no retroflex and palatal ट वर्ग, च वर्ग sounds, Marathi has borrowed अॅ and ऑ (as in bank, ball) from English. Gujarati has ऑ as in words like गोळ. Punjabi is the only I.A. language which has developed a tone system. Three tones are distinguished, the most common being falling. This interplay of tones gives the language its own sweetness. Marathi has nearly lost ष except in careful Sanskrit pronunciation. Oriya has only |s|. In Eastern as well as some central languages, nasalization is significant. Though case system in text books continues to be discussed in the frame work of Sanskrit, most of the modern Indo-Aryan languages have only two cases - Nominative - Direct representing the subject and oblique to which postpositions like में, पास, को, पेक्षा etc. are added. The

use of gender is becoming less habitual and is dying out. In Bengali gender is nearly lost of bhalo chele (good boys) and bhalo meye (good girls), hinsro bag as well as hinsro bagin (male and female tiger). Marathi and Gujarati have retained the three gender systems while Hindi and Sindhi one or two. The main source of vocabulary for these languages is of course Sanskrit, retained either with or without phonetic changes. Words from Sanskrit are many. No language can boast of pure vocabulary. Marathi has words from Turkish, Arabic, Portuguese also, e.g. bayko is from Turkish, kagod from Arabic etc. A few are likely to be of Iranian origin like gunda, langda, tagda.

Conclusion

The above analysis will indicate that like the Indian population, the present state of the languages of India is the result of the interplay between various language groups in varying degrees. Tolerance and assimilation, characteristic of Indian mind, have played their part here also. This is natural. The concept of purity of language is a myth. No language howsoever rich in form or content is free from the influence of other languages, particularly the neighbouring ones. 'Touch me not' is not the stand of languages. This convergence permeates all the hierarchial levels of language — sound system, grammar, vocabulary. This phenomenon of conversion — diffusion of linguistic traits — is particularly noticed in the two major families — Indo Aryan and Dravidian. This is a two way traffic and has been going on for long. This is noticed more prominently in the sphere of vocabulary. Because of the pre-eminent position of Sanskrit as a (a) language of elite (b) language of religious texts (c) repository of sciences — technical, philosophical, logical etc. (d) royal patronage, a vast body of literary work was done on Sanskrit model. This inevitably resulted in the borrowing of a large number of Sanskrit words in these languages. This was both (1) need-filling i.e. words were borrowed to meet the specialised needs in sciences and literature. (2) Prestige was also a factor. As Sanskrit was regarded as a language of scholarship, Dravidian languages used a large number of Sanskrit words. Even modern Indo-Aryan languages like Marathi, Hindi supply words to Dravidian languages. काला पानी चरखा, घेराव are a few instances. The tendency, to use long compounds is a result of the influence of Sanskrit. The मणिप्रवाल style of writing in Malayalam is a striking example of this. Not only content words but intensifiers like अत्यंत, qualifiers like मात्र, केवल are found borrowed. Words in Kannada like pattedaara from dar meaning detective or misewala from wala speak of the same tendency. The gradual use of aspirated sounds in Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam is an instance in point. The only language which has relatively resisted this process of 'Indo-Aryanization' is Tamil. But even here the granth script does not escape this. Passive constructions on Sanskrit model, relative clause formation refer to the field of grammar. Knowing the behaviour of languages it is not surprising that some of these loan words have undergone a change of meaning as well as form, e.g. आरम्भम् which means commencement in Sanskrit has come to mean in Telugu — pride and in Kannada — cultivation. आमोद् (Sanskrit — fragrance) has an additional meaning of dalliance in Telugu and enjoyment in Kannada.

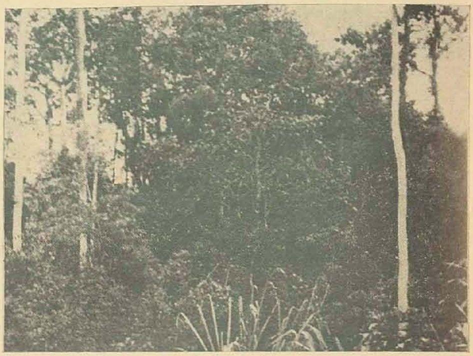
This is not a one way of traffic. As stated earlier, when the Aryans came to India sometime about 1500 B.C., they encountered a race which enjoyed civilization and language equal to theirs if not better. The two races since then have lived together for over 3000 years, generally in amity and spirit of neighbourliness. It is inevitable therefore that Dravidian languages have exercised considerable influence on Sanskrit as well as modern Indo-Aryan languages. Sanskrit as well as modern Indo-Aryan languages made a considerable use of retroflex sounds (ट वर्ग). It is an innovation in Sanskrit. The Indo-European people, ancestors of Aryans and their cousins staying on the Iranian plateau did not have these sounds. It is possible that this is an autonomous development in Sanskrit but there is no doubt that it was accelerated by the contact the Aryans had with the Dravidians. The increasing use of these retroflex sounds is certainly due to the Dravidian influence. Marathi, Southern Oriya on the one hand and Telugu, Northern Kannada on the other hand possess both c and *c* as well their voiced counterparts (written alike in च and ज as in words like चारा, चहा, जरा, जास्ती etc. There is no doubt that this is the result of convergence though who is the originator is difficult to say. Marathi verbal forms in आ like आहे आलो etc. are according to one scholar related to the Dravidian verb (a a). Onomatopoetic words and Echo words are also instances of Dravidian influence on Indo-Aryan languages. Same is noticeable in the field of vocabulary. Sanskrit words like कठिण अनल कुन्तल, शढ are of Dravidian origin.

The above study howsoever short and sketchy makes it pretty obvious that the present state of languages in India is the result of mutual interaction. Increasing communication and consequent interaction on a larger scale will undoubtedly bring the Indian languages belonging to different groups closer still. Intimate bilingualism will certainly help in bringing us all together and help to develop a pan-Indian language.

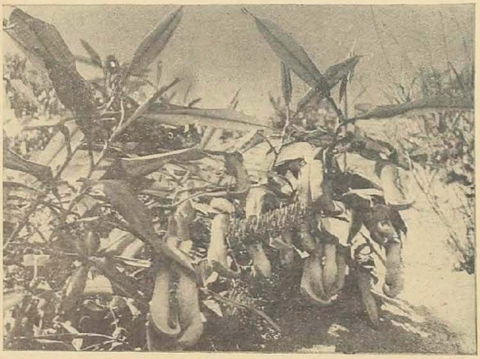
THE FLORA OF OUR LAND

D. B. DEB

126. Pine forest in the Western Himalaya (*Pinus roxburghii*).



127. Wet evergreen forest in Arunachal.



128. Pitchar plant in Meghalaya (*Nepenthes khasiana*).

129. Oak forest in the Western Himalaya (*Quercus floribunda*).

130. Sal forest in Assam (*Shorea robusta*).

131. Fir forest in the Western Himalaya (*Abies spectabilis*).

The Flora of Our Land

D. B. Deb

1. *Origin and Development*

The flora is essentially an integral part of the organic evolution, appearing in course of geological, climatic and edaphic changes in time and space. The present flora is the product of continuous modification of the past ones which in their turn were modifications of still earlier ones in response to the geomorphological changes in the landmass and climatic and biotic changes in the environment. These are derivatives of the ancient gondwana flora and those of the younger intrusive ones.

Concentration of many primitive flowering plants in the north eastern part of India suggests that this area could be the initial centre of their expansion and perhaps also the centre of origin of angiosperms (Takhtajan 1969). This region is also regarded as one of the primary centres of origin of cultivated plants (Vavilov 1951). Rice, maize, ragi, brinjal, bottle gourd, jack fruit, black pepper, citrus etc. are regarded to have originated in this country.

Natural vegetational cover is modified by human activity. Over five thousand years of settlement, cultivation, grazing, pasture, urbanization, and recent industrialisation and population pressure have resulted in rapid depletion and degradation of the forest from most of the plains and from much of the lower hills and plateaus. In the Indo-Gangetic plain woodland is severely restricted to narrow riverine patches. Vast areas of the Deccan are converted to grass lands with scattered trees.

The forest landscape lacks in gregariousness or absolute preponderance of one species or assemblage of species excepting a few cases like *Shorea*, teak, bamboos, palms, *Acacia, Strobilanthes, Rhododendron* etc. Agricultural crops like potato, tomato, chilli, tobacco, American corn, Egyptian cotton and many other horticultural and economic plants have been introduced and are cultivated on large scale. Besides a large number of adventive plants from different countries particularly tropical America and Australia have been introduced during the last two centuries. Most of these species have spread widely, displaced many indigenous species from their ecosystems and have become naturalized. Some of them have differentiated to such an extent as to be treated as subspecies, varieties, races etc.

2. *Ancient studies*

Archaeological findings of the Indus Valley Civilization in Harappa and its counterpart in Gujarat bear the earliest evidence on the use of plants by man in the form of cereals, woods and other products. (Choudhury 1971; Ghosh and Sen 1971). Harappans acquired a sound knowledge of the properties and utilization of wood about 5000 years ago. People of Vedic age (4500-600 BC) are credited with the practice of rotation of crops and knowledge of agricultural produce, such as wheat, corn, beans, sesamum etc. They were appreciative of medicinal properties of plants (Majumdar 1927; Ghosh and Sen 1971). From the time of Rigveda (4500-1600 BC) some conscious effort at classification is reflected in naming of plants based on their morphological characteristics. Earliest citation of medicinal plants can be traced in the *Rigveda*. *Atharvaveda* (2000-600 BC) mentions a larger number. Medicinal treatises of *Charaka, Susruta* etc. bear ample evidences on use of herbals for the treatment and cure of diseases and in the process recorded further progress made in the plant science in general (Ghosh and Sen 1971). In those days Sanskrit materia medica permeated far and wide into Egypt, Greece, Rome and Arabia (Majumdar; Burkill 1965).

Many of our important pharmacological drugs were in use long before they were introduced into the western medicine and long before their actions were investigated on scientific lines. Use of *Strychnos nuxvomica* in paralysis, *Rauvolfia serpentina* in insanity and *Croton tiglium* as a purgative and many others can be traced from Ayurvedic medicine.

3. *Composition and characteristics*

About 13000 species of higher (Vascular) plants comprising about 2250 genera and 325 families are spread over the country. About 4500 species of them are endemic in India, the remaining ones are exotic due partly to past geological continuum and partly due to immigration of plants from the surrounding countries and of equitable climate. The flora shows profound influence of Himalayan upliftment and human interference in its composition and distributional patterns. Characteristic composition is influenced primarily by the influx of humid tropical Asiatic elements mostly through Arunachal and later by considerable immigration of boreal and steppe elements from temperate Asia, and Mediterranean region, through the North West.

The influx of these elements greatly altered not only the ecosystems, but also the distributional pattern. A number of typical peninsular species also spread and penetrated into the Extra Peninsular areas and infiltrated deep into the Himalaya and extended their range outside to the area east of India. The Pleistocene glaciation on the Himalaya saw the rapid spread of a number of Mediterranean, boreal and South East Asiatic species deep south into the Peninsula, where they were left behind isolated as relicts when the glaciers on the Himalaya retreated at the end of the Pleistocene. Dry conditions prevailing towards the Western ranges of the Himalaya have favoured the influx of elements from the Western and middle Asiatic mountains. Species originating from the moist areas of high mountains of Western China extended as far west in Eastern Kumaon bordering Nepal. Some species of Western, Middle and Northern Asia are seen in the extreme Western Himalaya. They show varying extent of penetration, some reaching only Kashmir and others extending along the length of Western Himalaya. Elements of Western and North Western China have penetrated into the Eastern Himalaya. The Himalaya has served primarily as a route of immigration and colonization from the east and north west, and secondarily for endemic development (Stearn 1960). The tropical Asiatic elements have largely Indo-Chinese and Malayan affinities and represent, perhaps, the most dominant component of our flora, not only in the lower slopes of the Himalaya but also deep south in the Peninsula.

4. *Endangered plants*

Due to large scale destruction of the forest and change of environment for economic advancement and social upliftment large number of wild plants have become rare or threatened with extinction from their natural habitat. Some of the important ones are *Aconitum deinorrhizum, Atropa acuminata, Colchicum luteum, Commiphora mukal, Coptis teeta, Cycas pectinata, Dioscorea deltoidea, D. prazeri, Dischidia refflesiana, Gentiana kooroo, Diospyros marmorata, Lilium macklinie, Magnolia pterocarpa, Nardostachys jatamansi, Nepenthes khasiana (fig. 12), Podophyllum hexandrum, Meconopsis aculeata* and orchids — *Paphiopedilum fairyanum, Pleione praecox, Rhynchostylis retusa* and others. Effective steps are being taken for their conservation in natural habitat and in botanic gardens for the posterity (Jain and Sastry 1980).

5. *Phytogeographical Divisions*

The Indian Flora is known as more varied than that of any other country of equal area in the Eastern Hemisphere (Hooker 1904). Botanically the country may be divided into three basic divisions corresponding with the well defined geological formations, (1) *the Himalaya,* (2) *the Indo-Gangetic Plain* and (3) *the southern Peninsula*. Vegetations of these divisions have undergone changes in time and space by climatic and edaphic factors. Rainfall is the principal factor that determines the vegetation types, particularly the monsoon rain pattern. At higher altitudes temperature plays the dominant role. Characteristics of soil are of subsidiary or local importance, as is the role of topography. On the basis of rainfall the vegetational cover is distinguished as (1) Evergreen forest, (2) Deciduous forest, (3) Dry deciduous forest and (4) Xerophytic bush. Since temperature decreases

with rise in altitude of a place as is the affect of latitude, it has a paramount influence on the vegetation at higher altitudes, where it is distinguished as (1) Tropical, (2) Subtropical, (3) Temperate and (4) Alpine. In consideration of all these factors involved the vegetational cover in India is broadly divided into 8 phytogeographical Divisions (Floritic Divisions or Botanical Provinces) as 1. *The Eastern Himalaya*, 2. *The Western Himalaya*, 3. *The Gangetic Plain*, 4. *The Arid region*, 5. *The Assam Division*, 6. *The Malabar*, 7. *The Deccan and* 8. *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, though authorities differ in this regard (Hooker & Thomson 1855; Hooker 1904; Clarke 1898; Prain 1903; Calder 1936; Chatterjee 1940, 1960; Mani 1974; Subramanyam and Nayar 1974; Rao 1974; Rau 1974). There is, however, no abrupt change between any two contiguous divisions.

1. *The Eastern Himalaya* extends from eastern Nepal (82°50'EL) to Arunachal Pradesh. There are about 5000 species of vascular plants dominated in abundance of species by *Orchidaceae, Gramineae, Scrophulariaceae, Rosaceae, Rubiavceae* and *Euphorbiaceae.*

The vegetation shows four altitudinal and ecological zones as *tropical, subtropical temperate* and *alpine*. But there is no clear demarcation between any two, plants of the tropical zone reaching into the temperate and vice versa, and so with the temperate and alpine zones.

The tropical zone includes the foot of the hills upto an altitude of about 900 m. Depending on the extent of rainfall the forests vary from deciduous to evergreen. The deciduous forest is dominated by *Shorea* (Sal) associated with *Terminalia, Stereospermum, Garuga and Gmelian* etc., whereas in others *Dalbergia, Bauhinia, Dillenia, Lagerstoemia, Adina, Mitragyna, Anogeissus, Schima* etc. are prevalent to varying extent. *Shorea* does not grow in regions of heavy rainfall, where the genera named above along with *Eugenia, Dipterocarpus, Tetrameles, Dubanga, Engeahlrdia, Castanopsis* etc. are dominant. At very high rainfall wet evergreen rain forest is seen with dense, three storeyed vegetation. There is a rich under growth of shrubs, undershrubs and herbs. Amongst shrubs *Strobilanthes* is widespread in the forest, whilst in clearings *Edgeworthia, Artemisa, Maesa* and *Melastoma* seem to take their place. Herbaceous plants are well represented by *Malvaceae, Orchidaceae, Araceae, Gramineae* and *Balsaminaceae* and especially in the rainy period by a profusion of *Scitamineae*. Orchids and other epiphytes are common. Climbers abound by representatives of Legumi nosae, *Menispermaceae, Vitaceae, Cucurbitaceae, Passifloraceae, Apocynaceae, Aslepiadaceae, Dioscoreaceae, Araceae* and *Smilax*. *Annonaceae, Meliaceae, Leguminosae, Combretaceae, Guttiferae, Vacciniaceae, Euphorbiaceae, Urticaceae, Moraceae, Rubiaceae, Sterculiaceae, Myristicaceae,* and *Ternstroemiaceae* are present throughout. *Magnoliaceae* reach profusion in its upper limit, where Oaks are also present.. about 30 species of Palms are wide spread. Wild banana and Screw pines are locally present to some height. Bamboos abound everywhere at the lower levels, there being some 20 species.

Between 900 m. and 1700 m. mixed broadleaved forests occur, where species of *Quercus, Lithospermum, Castanopsis, Schima, Engelhardia, Euonymus, Michelia Magnolia* and lauraceous plants are common Composition of the flora changes rapidly as it passes from the subtropical to temperate zone. *Rosaceae, Labiatae, Ericaceae* and *Umbelliferae* gradually reach importance in this zone to be themselves superceded at greater heights by more lowly if not less beautiful Primulas, Saxifrages and Crucifers. Magnolias are very prominent in the temperate zone as are the Oaks, Laurers Maples, Birches, Alder, Eubucklandia, Pyrus and Conifers.

The subtropical forest gradually changes to evergreen oak zone between 1500 and 2000 m. On steep rocky south-faced slopes, a sparse forest of *Quercus incana* is present. The evergreen Oak forests occur between 2500 and 2800 m., which are associated with various lauraceous species, as well as with *Rhododendron arboreum, Lyonia ovalifolia,* species of *Acer, Symplocos* and others. *Castanopsis* predominates upto an altitude of 2300 m. and Quercus above it to 2500 — 2800 m. In temperate and alpine zones in Sikkim *Rhododendron* forest is extensive in the lower belt are *R. thomsonii* whereas in the higher zone *R. campanulatum R. lanatum* and *R. wightii* dominate upto timber line.*R. anthopogon, R. elaeagnoides* and *R. setosum* are found in open places, especially on the margin of the timber line. *Betula utilis, Gaultheria* and *Sorbus* spp. are seen throughout the *Rhododendron* zone. In other localities the *Rhododendron* forest is replaced by species of *Acer, Betula, Prunus, Schefflera, Sorbus, Viburnum and* others, particularly in the northern and eastern slopes. *Abies spectabilis* and *Tsuga dumosa* comprise the conifer forest, the former occupying the higher zone. *Rhododendrons* generally occur in the second storey of such forests. *Daphnephyllum himalayense* associated with *Rhododendron granade, R. barbatum,* and *R. aroboreum* var. *campbelliae* occur on the top of Bhondukay Bhajang at 3100 m. (Kanai 1966). *Vesselless* Dictyledon *Tetracentron sinense* var. *himalense* also occurs here (Hara 1966) and extends to Arunachal. The *Rhododendron* forest marks the timber line at a height of about 4000 m. and the region upto 5000 m. is occupied by alpine meadows of prostrate *Juniperus squamata, Androsace, Arenaria, Cassiope, Saussurea* and others.

The alpine zone marks the complete exculsion of *Orchidaceae* from the list chief families. The

Compositae now come into their own, and associated with them in order of importance appear the *Scorphulariaceae, Primulaceae, Saxifragaceae* and *Coniferae.* The sedges and grasses hold a lower position. But for a few Birches and Pyri that enter the alpine from the temperate zone trees are entirely absent. Shrubby vegetation is represented by the *Rhododendrons* and *Junipers* and by species of *Ephedra,* Mahania, *Berberis, Lonicera Rosa* and *Cotoneaster.* The most striking plants of the zone are species of *Meconopsis, Coptis, Rheum, Primula, Tanacetum* and *Saussurea.* straggling *Arenaria, Stellaria* and *Mandragora. Iris* and *Lloydia* are common.

2. *The Western Himalaya* extends from West Nepal (82°50'EL) westward passing over to Kashmir. This floristic division is not as rich as the Eastern. The lower elevations of its south-eastern ranges display, however, general floral features not unlike those of the eastern. The orchids recede from first place to seventh. The cold loving and better drought resisting members of the families *Gramineae, Compositae* and *Leguminosae* now head the list, while in comparison with the Eastern Himalaya the Labiates, Ranuncules and Crucifers gain in proportion. *Vacciniaceae, Dilleniaceae, Guttiferae, Passifloraceae, Myristicaceae,* and *Pandanaceae* disappear with the advent of the *Resedanceae, Moringaceae, Polemoniaceae* and *Salvadoraceae.* The presence of saline soil in the West accounts for the predominance of Chenopods. Palms come down to seven. The curious stemless *Nannorhops ritchieana* is gregarious in the north-west. The tropical plants disappear rapidly as the extreme north-west is reached but certain tropical like *Pistacia* and the Pomegranate are found here that are absent from the Eastern. Bamboos practically disappear.

The temperate zone of the Western Himalaya is more hospitable than the Eastern to Conifers. All members present in the East except the Larch extend westward, but there get added forests of Blue pine *(Pinus wallichii),* Chilgoza pine *(Pinus gerardiana), Abies spectabilis, Cupressus torulosa* and *Juniperus.* Within temperate conditions Oaks are more accommodating, the numbers in the east and the west more nearly equalling.

Shrubs peculiar to the West are the Indian Bladder-nut *(Staphylea),* the Lilac *(Syringa),* the rose the Mountain Ash *(Sorbus), Pyrus,* and the Hawthorn *(Crataegus).* But the chief difference lies in the greatly reduced number and importance of the *Rhododendrons.* Several Ranunculaceous herbs, unknown in the East, are here present together with species of *Aquilegia, Paeonia Adoxa, Eriophorum* and many grasses, Rushes and Carices. Balsams abound at all elevations in the temperate zone except the highest, the species being with few exceptions endemic. The decrease of rainfall from the Eastern to the Western Himalaya results in a diminution of epiphytic vegetation, a fact emphasized by the relative preponderance in the zone of terrestrial, as against epiphytic Orchids. Bamboos are dwarf and gregarious.

The Alpine zone abounds in Astragali and the prevalence of Artemisias, Saussureas, Tanacetums and others accounts for *Compositae* taking first place here as it does in the corresponding zone of the Eastern Himalaya. Grasses and legumes gain prominence. Two conspicuous eastern alpine *Rehum nobile* and *Tanacetum gossypium* disappear although Arenarias carry on throughout the range at the higher elevations.

In the subtropical region Shorea forests predominate over the Siwaliks and the slopes of the lower Himalaya upto an altitude of 1000 m. In other localities mixed deciduous forests are dominated by *Lagerstroemiaparviflora, Dalbergia sissoo, Anogeissus latifolia, Terminalia* spp. and others. Above the Shorea belt is a zone of *Quercus* associated with species of *Castanopsis, Lithocarpus, Engelhardia* and other. On the outer ranges, Pine *(Pinus roxburghii* is luxuriant above 1200m. often rising above 2000m. These pine forests are restricted to exposed, dry situations with south facing slopes, crests of spurs and well drained areas. At its upper limit the Pine is associated with *Quercus incana* and *Rhododendron urboreum* and others. In moist situations above 1500m. *Oak-Rhododendron* forest is rich in epiphytes, ochids, ferns and aroids Climbers like Holboellia *latifolia, Schizandra grandiflora* and *Vitis* spp. are common. During the rainy season, *Gesneriaceae* and *Gentianaceae* are conspicuous. At higher altitudes between 2200m. and 2800m, *Quercus incana* is sometimes replaced by *Q. floribunda.* Above 2800 m. *Quercus semecarpifolia Abies pindrow, Taxus baccata* Subsp. *wallichiana and Rhododendron arboreum* form communities. Species of *Euonymus, Pyrus, Viburnum* and others are also conspicuous. Forests of *Cedrus deodara* occur between 2000 m. and 3000m. on the inner drier regions, reaching W. Nepal to the east. On the lime stone spurs are found forests of *Cupressus torulosa, Betula utilis* and *Abies spectabilis* either pure or mixed in various proportions extend from 3000 to 4000 m.

The subalpine forests of *Betula-Rododendron* with species of *Cotoneaster, Lonicera, Ribes, Rosa* and others are better developed on the southern slopes. Herbaceous perennials of *Anemone, Eqilobium Geranium, Gentiana, Polygonum etc. in* moist situations, and species of *Aletris, Caltha, Pedicularis, Polygonum, Potentilla, Ranunculus* etc. along water courses are common. Above the tree limit scattered bushes of *Juniperus indica* and *J. communis* along with low shrubs of *Salix* and *Cotonneaster* occur, *Rhododendron anthopogon* and *Berberis* reach upto 4800 m. At the upper limit of vegetation species of *Cassiope Paraquilegia, Androsace, Saxifraga, Sedum, Bergenia* etc. are conspicuous. Many of the herbs on exposed rock faces present a

rosette or cushion habit. Woody species of *Saussurea* are fairl common on the morainic slopes. In extreme dry conditions species of *Caragana Epsedra, Berberis* and *Juniperus* and common. *Christolea himalaensis* is reported from an altitude of 6300 m. The herbaceous alpine flora is so rich in some of the valleys in north Garhwal that they are known as the valley of Flowers (Smythe 1938)

3. *The Gangetic Plain* extends from the Aravalli Range to Bangladesh. This region is to a very great extent given over to cultivation. With the exception of the Sunderbans and some other pockets most of its original flora has yielded place to agricultural crops and adventive weeds.

The Upper Gangetic Plain extends from the north of Vindhya mountain to Delhi and a part of Eastern Rajasthan in the West, Bihar in the east and to the base of the Himalaya in the North (Duthie, 1903, Somdeva, 1968). The vegetation in its western part is dry deciduous. Greater part of the land to the eastward is under cultivation. The Flora of the western extreme is represented by *Peganum harmala, Pluchea lanceolata* and *Tecoma undulata* and is continuous with that of the dry districts of the Indus Plain. The forest of Ajmir is characterized by *Anogeissus pendula* and by species of *Boswellia, Balsamodendron, Moringa, Rhus, Acacia* and *Prosopis*. In the cold season many adventive species grow. Several species of Rattans and the Date Palm represent the Palms. *Salvadora* characterizes the alkaline usher land. *Leguminosae, Gramineae, Cyperaceae* and *Compositae* occur in order of prevalence. Savannah or grass lands are dotted with trees like *Bombax ceiba, Butea monosperma, Xeromphis spinosa* and *ziziphus* spp. etc.

The Middle Gangetic Plain is widely under cultivation of agricultural crops. The villages are buried in groves of mango, jack fruit betel nut, figs and palms, Aroids both wild and cultivated are conspicuous. The lotus, water lily and many other aquatic plants are very common. In the eastern portion the Jhils and old river beds are characterized by a luxuriance of marsh grasses and *Cyperaceae*. Among the trees many are introduced.

On uncultivable high lands patches of moist or dry deciduous forests are scattered. *Shorea* forest reaches its southern limit in this region, where teak forest also occurs. In the drier localities — *Acacia nilotica, Acacia concinna, Caesalpinia bonduc, Ziziphus mauritiana, Capparis sepiaria, Aegle marmelos* etc. are characteristic.

The Lower Gangetic Plain is featured by the mangrove and tidal forests at the mouth of Ganga. Though more extensively represented in the Sundarbans than else where in India, mangrove vegetation is not more distinctive of Gangetic delta than it is of similar tracts at the mouth of other Indian rivers. About 1450 species in 750 genera and 150 families of flowering plants are found in the Lower Gangetic Plain of West Bengal (Basak and Guha Bakshi, 1979).

The Sunderbans are clothed with a dense evergreen forest of trees and shrubs characteristic of the Mangrove forest like species of *Heritiera, Rhizophora, Carapa, Ceriops, Xylocarpa, Bruguiera, Sonneratia, Aegiceras, Avicennia* and *Excoecaria*. Several of the species send up from their subterranean roots a multitude of vertical roots which act as respiratory organs. In some places these are so numerous that passage through the forest is difficult. Two Palms the tufted and short stemmed *Nypa fruticans* in tidal regions and *Phoenix paludosa* in drier localities are gregarious. The wild rice of saline water *Porteresia coarcata* is wide spread. In addition to the Mangrove some inland species like *Pongamia pinnata, Kleinhovia hospita, Aegle marmelos, Lannea coromandelica, Cordia dichotoma, Streblus asper* and *Barringtonia acutangula* also grow there. With the Mangrove are mixed *Leguminosae, Typhaceae, Gramineae* and *Cyperaceae*. *Orchidaceae* has more than a dozen species, all epiphytic. Amongst the undershrubs two species of *Acanthus* are prominent.

4. *The Arid Region* is a belt of low rainfall decreasing rapidly from the Aravalli towards west and west-north-west, and is spread over the Thar Desert extending to the Punjab, Rajasthan, Cutch and Gujarat. The vegetation in this region is sparse and very poor and is exclusively controlled by edaphic factors. Plants with xerophytic adaptations are able to establish themselves. Most of them are stunted, thorny or prickly shrubs and perennial herbs, which can withstand prolonged period of drought. *Gramineae, Leguminosae, Compositae, Convolvulaceae, Cyperaceae, Malvaceae, Acanthaseae, Euphorbiaceae, Boraginaceae* and *Cucurbitaceae* are the dominant families. Genera with larger number of species are *Ipomoea, Cyperus, Indigofera, Heliotropium, Tephrosia, Euphorbia, Eragrostis* and *Aristida* (Shetty and Pandey, 1979). Except *Gramineae* and *Cyperaceae* Monocot are poorly represented. *Ephedra foliata* is the only Gymnosperm.

Scattered trees of stunted growth are found along depressions. In the semiarid region the vegetation mainly consists of dwarf grasses interspersed with few characteristic desert shrubs. In sand dunes *Indigofera cordifolia* and *Corchorus triflorus* are very common, while in sandy plains *Indigofera argentea, Euphorbia granulata, Tribulus* (2 spp.), *Limeum indicum, Cenchrus* (2. spp.), *Eragrostis* (2 spp.) and several others are scattered.

Cyperus arenarius, Crotalaria burhia, Aerva persica and *Leptadenia pyrotechnica* are some of the pioneers to colonize sand dunes. *Crotalaria burhia* often forms an association with *Aerva pseudotomen-*

tosa and *Leptadenia pyrotechnica* on lower san-dunes and sandy plains.

On gravels *Cleome vahliana, C. gracilis, Fagonia cretica, Dactyloctenium aristatum, Indigofera linnaei, Heliotropium raviflorum, Leptadenia pyrotechnica* and *Blepharis sindica* etc. are common. *Sarcostemma acidum, Corallocarpus epiganeus, Rhynchosia minima* and *Rivea hypocrateriformis* occur in some places. *Salvadora aleoides, Prosopis cineraria, Capparis decidua, Maytenus emarginata* and species of *Ziziphus* are common trees. *Coccinia grandis, Dactyliandra welwitschii, Citrulus colocynthis* are common ramblers.

Construction of irrigation canals in recent years has resulted in the transformation of a vast stretch of arid land to a fertile soil in Rajasthan. Plantation of *Acacia nilotica* subsp. *indica, Albizia lebbeck, Dalbergia sissoo, Eucalyptus* spp., *Ficus* spp. etc has resulted in development of green tracts. (Shetty and Pandey, 1979).

5. *The Assam Floristic Division* includes lower part of Arunachal, Assam, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura. Biogeographically it represents a highly transitional region where Himalayan, Gangetic, Burmese, Malaysian, and Peninsular elements prevail to varying extent. On over all consideration this is treated as a district division. The vegetation shows four altitudinal and ecological zones as tropical, subtropical, temperate and subalpine. Tropical vegetation covers most of the region upto an elevation of about 900 m. comprising evergreen, semi evergreen and moist deciduous forests as well as grasslands and swamps.

At higher rainfall areas wet evergreen forests (known as rain forests fig.7) are spread over larger tracts which in many localities are converted to semi-evergreen (Deb. 1981) and degraded forests known as rain forests. They cover major parts of Brahmaputra valley, Cachar, Darrang, lower parts of Meghalaya, Naga Hills, Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura. *Magnoliaceae, Myrtaceae, Guttiferae, Ebenaceae, Dilleniaceae, Verbenaceae, Euphorbiaceae, Dipterocarpaceae, Moraceae, Palmae* etc. are commonly represented with many species. The forests generally present a three storeyed appearance, with plenty of climbers and dense undergrowth, particularly in localities where the rainfall is very high.

The top canopy consists of *Dipterocarpus turbinatus, Canarium strictum, Artocarpus chaplasha, Tetrameles nudiflora, Ailanthus grandis, Euphoria longana, Keyea assamica, Terminalia chebula, Mesua ferrea, Phoebe goalparensis, Toona ciliata, Dysoxylum binectariferum, Dillenia indica, Duabanga grandiflora* etc. The second storey comprises smaller trees of the top canopy along with *Amoora wallichii, Lagerstroemia parviflora* and *Terminalia myriocarpa* and species of *Magnoliaceae* and others.

Of the numerous climbers species of *Leguminosae, Apocynaceae, Vitaceae, Menispermaceae, Annonaceae, Araceae* are common. Palms are conspicuous. Wild *Musa* grow on the slopes in patches, and *Pandanus* near streams. *Dendrocalamus, Bambusa* are crowded in clumps.

Epiphytes mostly of *Orchidaceae, Araceae* and *Gesneriaceae*, ferns and others are plenty. Parasites of *Loranthaceae* are not scarce. *Acanthaceae, Leguminosae, Scitamineae, Araceae, Commelinaceae* etc. from the dense forest floor. Tree ferns are most conspicuous and elegant on moist banks and wet boulders. Tree trunks are matted with liverworts, mosses, Sphagnums and filmy ferns.

The deciduous forest is often dominated by *Shorea robusta* (Sal fig. 8) covering large areas in Goalpara, Kamrup, Nowgong, Darrang, lower slopes of Meghalaya and south Tripura. The associated species are *Gmelina arborea, Careya arborea, Kydia calycina, Sterculia villosa, Bombax ceiba, Adina cordifolia*, and species of *Grewia, Terminalia, Bauhinia, Acacia, Albizia* etc. In other places of the region where *Shorea* is absent, these trees in varying proportions form the top canopy.

Teak forest lies along the Burma border in Manipur on the foot hills of Kabaw valley.

The grasslands are covered by species of *Saccharum, Anthistiria, Erianthus, Arundo donax, Phragmites* and others.

In swamps *Nymphaeaceae, Lemnaceae, Araceae, Cyperaceae, Eriocaulaceae, Najadaceae* etc. are common along with *Typha, Arundo, Phragmites, Crataeva lophosperma, Engenia cuneata, Homonoia reparia, Salix tetrasperma* etc. are the shrubs and trees in some swamps.

Subtropical forests are spread over Meghalaya, Manipur, Naga hills and Mizo Hills in altitudes between 900 m. and 1500 m. *Fagaceae, Lauraceae, Magnoliaceae, Guttiferae, Ternstroemiaceae, Moraceae, Leguminosae, Rosaceae* etc. are common.

Pine forests are spread over large areas in Khasi Hills, Naga Hills and Manipur.

The temperate vegetation occurs from 1300 m. to 2500 m. in Khasi Hill, Naga Hills, Mizo Hills and Manipur.

Rhododendron predominates with species of *Rosaceae, Fagaceae, Magnoliaceae, Aceraceae* and *Vacciniaceae* etc.

Sacred forests at Shillong peak, Mawphlong, Mowsmai and other places are relics of the original vegetation, left undisturbed due to religious belief.

The subalpine vegetation is seen above 2500 m. at Japvo in Naga Hills and Konpru in Manipur. Here the vegetation consists of stunted, gnarled and dwarf shrubs with deep root system.

6. *The Malabar Floristic Division* includes the

humid belt of the hilly country extending along the western side of the Western Peninsula from the mouth of the river Tapti to cape Kumarin (Comorin).

The outstanding feature of this region is the development of the tropical rainforest on the windward side of the southern Western Ghats, usually between 500 and 1500 m. The humid tropical belt comprises the evergreen, semi evergreen and moist deciduous forests. Floristic composition of these rain forests differ basically from those of Assam, Meghalaya and Andaman Islands, though some species are common to all of them. The most distinctive species are represented by *Guttiferae, Dipterocarpaceae, Myristicaceae, Palmae, Bambusae* and *Balsaminaceae. Guttiferae* are represented by *Poeciloneuron, Mesua, Callophyllum, Mammea* and *Garinia.* The endemic genus *Poeciloneuron* (2 species) and *Mesua ferrea* occur from Mysore southwards. *Dipterocarpaceae* are represented by *Dipterocarpus, Hopea, Shorea, Vatica* and *Vateria. Hopea utilis is endemic to* Tinnevelly Hills. *Vateria indica,* the Indian copal tree occurs in the evergreen forests from Mysore southwards. The genus *Myristica,* is represented by 4 species. *Helicia* a genus of Australian *Proteaceae* is represented by 2 species. Out of about 21 palms in the W. Ghats, 11 species are endemic here. *Sterculiaceae, Tiliaceae, Anacardiaceae, Meliaceae, Myrtaceae, Melastomataceae, Vitaceae, Gesneriaceae, Piperaceae, Scitamineae, Orchidaceae* and *Araceae* are well represented. Other interesting families which are fully developed in this region are *Podostemaceae, Umbelliferae, Loranthaceae* and *Acanthaceae. Bambusae* are very conspicuous by their arborescent habit and there are 6 genera and about 17 species. Out of 8 species of *Ochlandra* in India 6 species are represented in Southern W. Ghats.

Amongst the herbaceous plants the most conspicuous genus *Impatiens* have about 77 species, many of which are endemic.

The ravines and shady slopes near the undulating summits are occupied by thickets of small trees and bushes. The Sholas are characteristic along the folds of rolling downs above 1700 m. They are covered with evergreen forests with dense undergrowth. The most conspicuous trees are *Michelia nilagirica, Hydnocarpus alpina, Garcinia cambogia, Cinnamomum wightii, Ternstroemia japonica* and *Gordonia obtusa* and species of *Iiex, Meliosma, Microtropis, Euonymus, Photinia, Viburnum, Macaranga, Eugenia, Symplocos, Glochidion* and *Araliaceae* and *Lauraceae.*

Of shrubs species of *Strobilanthes, Berberis, Mahonia, Eurya, Ligustrum, Vernonia, Osbeckia* and *Osyris arborea* etc. are common. Climbers like *Clematis wightiana, Rosa leschenaultiana, Parthenocissus neilgherrensis, Jasminum brevilobum, Gardneria ovata, Gymnema hirsutum* and *Elaeagnus conferta* are common. Amongst conspicuous herbs the species of *Impatiens, Viola, Polygala* are notable. There is a rich growth of Orchids. In the evergreen forests of higher altitudes above 2500 m. *Rhododendron arboreum, Gaultheria fragrantissima, Rhodomyrtus tomentosa, Michelia nilagirica* etc. are common, while at lower elevations *Hydnocarpus alpina* and species of *Memecylon, Psychotria, Maesa* and *Osysis arborea.* Bamboos are rarer than is the case at similar heights in the northern ranges. There is a striking similarity between the floras of the Nilgiri and the distant Khasia, Manipur and Naga hills. The floras of intervening ranges of mountains do not form satisfactory connecting links. Peat bogs are found in depressions of the Nilgiri Hills towards their summits. The peat is composed of grasses, sedges, mosses and rushes and the bogs are the location of the curious *Hedyotis verticillata* besides of species of *Utricularia, Eriocaulon, Exacum* and *Commelina.* Australian *Acacia* spp. are widely planted on the Nilgiri ranges.

In low rainfall areas and usually on black soil moist deciduous vegetation is seen. At higher rainfall areas evergreen forests are spread over larger tracts. These forests are dominated by species of *Vateria, Cullenia, Mesua, Calophyllum, Poeciloneuron, Palaquium, Cullenia, Hopea, Dipterocarpus, Myristica* etc. They occur on varying proportion, of two or three of these genera at different localities (Aiyer, 1932). In the moist deciduous forests *Terminalia, Adina, Anogeissus, Grewia, Phyllanthus, Xylia* etc. are conspicuous. In red soil areas of high rainfall *Xylia, Olea, Cinnamomum, Diospyros, Myristica, Hopea, Polyalthia* etc. are dominant (Arora 1960).

The shores are skirted with coconuts, and the villages surrounded with groves of Betel-nut palms and Talipots, *Cassia* and Cardamoms flourish wild in the forest. Teak plantations are abundant on the upper evergreen forests while Sandal wood occurs only in the east and dry flanks of the Ghats.

On the Anamalai, Palni and Cardamom Hills dry semi deciduous forests occupy the foot hills. As the height of the hill rises and rainfall increases thereon the forest changes from dry deciduous to moist deciduous type. Timber trees like *Tectona grandis, Dalbergia latifolia, Terminalia tomentosa, Anogeissus latifolia, Pterocarpus marsupium* and others grow in this zone. *Bambusa arundinacea* is luxuriant here. *Sterculia guttata, Terminalia bellirica, Stercospermum personatum* and *Bridelia retusa* are also conspicuous. In the middle layer *Kydia calycina, Clausena heptaphylla, Litsea deccanensis, Cycas circinalis* etc. are common. Many species of *Scitamineae* and *Orchidaceae* occur in this forest.

Shola forests similar to those of Nilgiris occur also on these hills, but they are at lower elevations and are rich in tropical evergreen vegetation, forming tiers. The top tier includes *Mesua ferrea, Vitex altissima, Agalaia roxburghiana, Elaeodendron*

glaucum, Polyalthia fragrans, Diospyros microphylla, Eugenia gardneri, Canarium strictum, Callophyllum tomentosum, Palaquium ellipticum and *Diospyros ebenum*. At higher altitudes above 2500 m, *Rhododendron arboreum, Gaultheria fragrantissima, Rhodomyrtus tomentosa* and *Michelia nilagirica* etc. are dominant.

In the open downs there are many herbaceous and shrubby plants like species of *Anemone, Ranunculus, Cardamine, Viola, Polygala, Hypericum, Impatiens, Crotalaria, Indigofera* and others.

7. *The Deccan*: The boundaries of Western Ghats and the Deccan are not sharp. The flora of the leeward side of Western Ghats merges with the floristic elements of the Deccan. Deciduous forests are the most conspicuous feature of the plateau and comparatively evergreen ones on the coasts and slopes with an eastern aspect. *Shorea* (Sal) finds its natural southern limit near the Godavari, but the *Tectona* (Teak) occurs at intervals all over. The Northern Deccan has some species common with subtropical plants of the Himalayas, and some other species which show affinity with flora of the humid districts of Assam and Burma.

Of forest trees there are several hundred species, amongst which *Sterculiaceae, Melianeae, Leguminosae, Combretaceae, Bignoniaceae* and *Urticaceae* are well represented. *Chloroxylon* (Satin), *Chukrassia* (Chikrasi), *Soymida* (Indian Red wood) and the *Toona* (Toon) are all important, but the best known is probably the odoriferous *Santalum* (Sandal wood), forests of which are found in Mysore and adjoining districts. *Butea monosperma* and *Coonlospermum religiosum* are common throughout; shrubby species of *Capparis, Grewia, Flacourtia, Diospyros, Flueggea* and *Phyllanthus* are prevalent. Relative absence of epiphytic Orchids and *Scitamineae* is significant, but the common annuals or perennials of the Gangetic Plain extend southward into a great part of the Deccan and prominent in the herbaceous class are *Acanthaceae, Commelinaceae, Gramineae* and *Labiatae*. The chief Bamboos are the common *Bambusa arundinaceae* and *Dendrocalamus strictus* and of Palms the commoner Dates are *Phoenix sylvestris, P. acaulis* and *P. humilis* and the Tal *Borassus flabellifer* and some Calami. The vegetation of Karnataka is somewhat scanty. The table land is often barren and the hills at best are covered with a low shrubby vegetation. But towards the west, where the influence of the monsoon is felt, the vegetation tends to be similar to that of the Western Ghats, the Malabar type.

The vegetation of the Eastern Ghats is deciduous and is remarkable for the characteristic species like *Shorea robusta S. thumbuggaia, Pterocarpus santalinus, Terminalia pallida, Sygygium alternifolium* and *Santalum album* in certain areas. Above 1000m in altitude evergreen plants are associated with deciduous ones. The humid slopes are densely wooded where species of *Dipterocarpus, Pterocarpus, Acacia, Butea, Lagerstroemia, Terminalia, Nauclea, Diospyros, Tectona* and *Santalum* predominate. Few palms are indigenous. The black cotton soils, are characterized by spinous trees like *Capparis divericata, Acacia nilotica, Prosopis spicigera, Parkinsonia aculeata, Balanites aegyptiaca* and others. Mangroves occur in the estuaries of the Coromandel. Elsewhere thickets of spinous evergreen and deciduous trees and shrubs abound. But its Southern end is characterized by *Acacia planifrons* and by the Indian Sennas (*cassia*), while towards the north tracts Nux vomica and Ebony are common. Opuntia is common here and there. Sandy soils of the coast harbour the exotic spinous grass *Spinifex squarrosus*.

8. *Andaman & Nicobar Islands* comprise two groups of 226 islands.

About 2270 species of vascular plants are known from these islands, of which about 225 species are endemic. Floras of Andaman and Nicobars are not similar, the former showing great affinities to North East India and Burma and the latter to Sumatra and Malayasia (Balakrishnan 1977).

Rain forests of this islands are well known. Mangrove forests (fig. 11) beach, forests, moist evergreen forests and the moist deciduous forests are the main vegetation types. Epiphytic orchids and ferns are conspicuous. Aquatic plants are poorly represented here. Grass lands are seen on hilly plateau.

Various species of *Dipterocarpus* (Garjan), *Pterocarpus* (Padauk) *Osbeckia, Clematis, Talauma, Habenaria, Coelogyne, Porpay, Cnesmone,* Vanilla are found in Andaman islands and do not extend to Nicobar group of Islands. On the other hand, species of *Cyathea* (Tree ferns), *Astronia, Coptophyllum, Otanthera, Cyrtandra, Rhynchoglossum, Rhopaloblaste, Stemonurus* etc. occur only in Nicobar Islands and do not extend to Andaman Islands (Balakrishnan, 1977).

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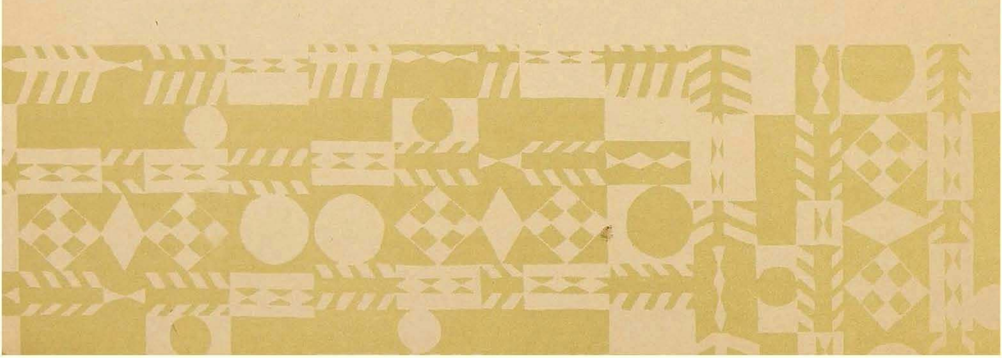

THE FAUNAL WEALTH OF INDIA

T. N. ANANTHAKRISHNAN

132. Elephant

The Faunal Wealth of India

T. N. Ananthakrishnan

The rich faunal resources of India is a proud heritage of this Nation and both in terms of species diversity as well as in individual abundance, the fauna is unique, comprising not only strictly endemic elements, but also the Indo-Chinese, Malayan, Ethiopian as well as Palaearctic elements which add both colour and diversity to the fauna. It has to be appreciated that the flora and fauna as well as the regions concerned, constitute an indivisible entirely and evolve as a whole. As such the distribution of plants and animals naturally embraces the entire gamut of floral and faunal movements of the past and present resulting in continual changes in the composition, ecological features as well as affinities and distribution patterns of plants and animals (Mani, 1974). Many of the present day mammals and birds have been severely restricted in their development to localized pockets and what was once known to be a continuous phenomenon of distribution has given place over the last hundred years or more to more or less isolated, discontinuous distribution. Geomorphological changes have contributed equally to the changes in faunal and floral patterns as exemplified by the remains of the extinct species of the Tertiary period discovered in the Siwalik Hills and other parts of India, which reveals glimpses of the glorious past, — of the wonderful wealth of wild life possessed by this country such as the mastodons, numerous species of elephants, siwalik bison, buffalo, giraffe, chimpanzee, sabre-toothed tiger, hunting leopard, rhinoceros of various kinds, the four-horned ruminant *Sivatherium*, etc. Even during the later Pliestocene, hardly eight to ten thousand years ago, some of these like the wild buffalo and rhinoceros existed in the extensive swamps of the Indo-Gangetic plains (Mukherjee, 1966, 1974). Over the past two hundred years two species of birds and fifteen species of mammals have been threatened and the timely measures taken towards conservation of threatened species in this country as well as all over the world, may perhaps save many others from extinction and keep alive the glorious diversity of Nature.

The enormous geographically diverse areas with their varying climate ranging from tropical to the arctic, from high aridity to high humidity naturally have resulted in the great diversity of Indian flora and fauna. The lofty ranges of Himalayas, the Indo-Gangetic plains, the Eastern highlands, the Deccan

Plateau the Thar desert, the Western and Eastern ghats as well as the numerous river systems and rich forests, harbour a wide variety of faunal elements which are closely interlinked with the floral elements of the particular region (Spate, 1960). Basically speaking we have the terrestrial, freshwater and the marine ecosystems which lend themselves to further categorisation in terms of the various communities, each of which harbour an endless variety of animals. It is wellknown that the arthropods, and among these the insects, abound in such large numbers as to surpass all the other animal species put together. In a brief review on the faunal wealth of India, it would naturally be impossible even to outline the Invertebrate resources. The numerous species of crabs, prawns, and lobsters, in particular the giant freshwater prawn *(Macrobrachium rosenbergii), the* Indian prawn *(Metapenaeus monoceros),* the tiger prawn *(Penaeus monodon),* the Indian white prawn *(Penaeus indicus),* the giant crab *(Scylla sewata),* to mention a few, are among our food resources. In view of the large number of insects mention may just be made of the numerous species of gorgeous butterflies and moths and giant beetles of the hilly tracts of North Eastern India, Himalayan region, Western ghats, and other parts which catch the public eye, as well as of mulberry, eri, and muga silkworms, honeybees, and lac insects which are our precious resources. The ravages caused by numerous insect pests like the locusts and grasshoppers, caterpillars of butterflies and moths, and grubs of beetles and different species of bugs to our crops cannot be overlooked. Similarly are the numerous insects like the mosquitoes, houseflies, sandflies, and other flies and ticks which are vectors of human and animal disease as well as thrips, aphids, jassids, coccids, whiteflies which are similarly vectors of plant diseases. Extensive molluscan resources exist all along our coasts in the form of shell fish including mussels, oysters, clams, pearl-oysters, window pane oysters, ark shells, chanks, cowries, squids, and cuttle fish and many of these are excellent food resources as well as ornamental articles. Similarly among the echinoderms, species of sea-cucumbers are dried and exported to be used as food.

Any mention of faunal wealth would naturally refer to the Vertebrate resources comprising fishes, amphibians, reptiles, birds, and mammals. Over 1700 species under 600 genera of fresh water and marine fishes are known from India of which more than 680 species are primarily freshwater inhabitants; the majority of fishes are marine and brackishwater forms. As earlier mentioned, the Indo-Chinese, Malayan, Ethiopian, Palaearctic and endemic elements are characteristic of our fish fauna also. It would be beyond the scope of this short paper to enumerate the entire fish fauna of the country. Suffice it to say that such genera as *Schizopygopsis, Schizothorax, Ptychobarbus, and Cyprinon* occur in lakes and large rivers and streams of the Himalayas. Many genera common to Palaearctic and Oriental regions are represented by species of *Glyptosternum, Dityehus, Schizothoraxichthys* are also represented in the Palaearctic regions in India, many Ethiopian elements are equally abundant in species of the genera *Rita, Mystus, Clarius, Gara, Labio, Puntio, Barilius, Tor, Rasbora,* etc. Several species belonging to the genera *Cirrhinus, Homaloptera, Balitora, Batasio, Wallago, Silurus, Silone, Pangasius,* etc., are common to the Indian and Indo-Chinese regions. The endemic species however are not that abundant, mostly occurring in the peninsula and belonging to the genera, *Lepidopygopsis, Bhawania, Travancoria, Gerdonia, Horbagrus, Horalans* (Jayaram, 1974).

The amphibian fauna of India are equally unique and interesting, with 24 genera and about 110 species recorded in this country. An interesting aspect is that about 50% of the genera are endemic to the Indian region and a good number to peninsular India, notably in the Western ghats. The limbless amphibia, the Gymnophiona, are represented by 17 genera and 75 species in the world and of these 5 genera and 13 species are restricted to South India with one species endemic to Eastern Himalayas. Most of the species belong to the genus *Icthyophis,* and the other genera are *Uraeotyphlus, Gegenophis,* and *Herpelex.* Of particular interest is the presence of a single representative of the urodeless namely *Tylototriton verrucosus* which occurs in Eastern India and in the Himalayan region. The frogs and toads of India are again interesting, with 35 species of the genus *Rana* being peninsular, and nearly half of them endemic to Western ghats, others to the Eastern Himalayas and North West Himalayas. Some of the striking genera restricted to Himalayas are *Micrixalus, Nyctibatrachus,* and *Nannobatrachus.* Several species of *Rhachophorus, Philautus* as well as those of *Microhylla, Ramanella,* are also known, many of them endemic to Western ghats. Fifteen species of the toad Bufo are known, some of them from Western ghats and others from Eastern Himalayas. Of the two species of *Nectophryne* one occurs in Western ghats and the other occurs in Garo Hills. Some rare genera *Megalophrys, Aleurophryne,* are restricted to the Himalayan region, while the tree frogs *Hyla* are known from the Khasi Hills of Assam.

The turtles and tortoises are represented by 26 genera and 57 species of which such as land tortoises as *Testudo elegans* in Central and South India, *T. travancorius* in Western ghats, T. elongate in North Eastern India, *T. parallelus* from Chota Nagpur. *Geomyda trijuga* and *G. tricarinata* are widely distributed species, while species of fresh water tortoises like *Lissemys punctata* and species of *Trionyx* such as peacock marked soft shelled turtle, *T. hururo* are of interest. The green marine turtle *(Chelone mydas),* the leathery turtle *(Dermochelys*

coriacea), the logger head turtle *(Caretta caretta)*, olive black logger head turtle *(Lepidochelys olivacea)*, and the Indian tent turtle *(Kachuga tecta tecta)* are endangered species. Of the crocodilian fauna are only three representatives, *viz.*, the Gharial *(Gavialis gangeticus)*, the estuarine crocodile *(Crocodylas porosus)*, and the salt water crocodile *(Crocodylus palustris)*. The lizard fauna is very abundant, in particular the geckonids, the agamids, and the scincids. Geckonids include many species, notably of the genera *Hemidactylus* and *Caloactylus;* agamids include *Calotes, Uromastix* (common in North India), *Draco* or the flying lizard and *Silana;* scincids include such major representatives like *Mabuya, Lygosoma, Chameleon, Riopa, Ristella, Sepsophis,* etc. of particular interest in the glass lizard, Ophiosaures of the Eastern Himalayas. The varanids or monitor lizards include Varanus monitor, the Agra monitor lizard *(Baranus griseus)*, the yellow monitor lizard *(Varanus flavescens)*, the large Bengal monitor lizard *(Varanus bengalensis)* and the water lizard *Varanus salvator)* all of which are threatened. The enumeration of the lizard fauna as well as the numerous representatives of the snake fauna of India becomes out of context in a short presentation such as this, but emphasis may be made of the burrowing snakes or the uropeltids endemic to the Western ghats, the Cobra and King cobra, the Russel's viper, the pit viper, the krait, the little hissing viper, the python, the whip snake or the green tree snake are among the more important representatives.

Roughly speaking more than 2100 species of birds and 500 species of mammals exist and in view of the interference of man through deforestation as well as commercial harvests many species are on the road to extinction. The emergence of wild life conservation has naturally led to the enactment of wild life laws and preventing the killing or otherwise, illegal use of wild life for the greater benefit for the man, has raised hopes of their conservation. It would therefore be useful to indicate some of the important species of birds and mammals which are of the nature of valuable assets of wild life of this country.

Some of our major threatened birds are the Andaman Teal *(Anas gibberifrons albogularis)*, Assam bamboo partridge *(Bambusicola fytechii)*, Bazas *(Aviceda jeordoni* and *Aviceda leuphotes)*, Bengal florican *(upodotis bengalensis)*, Black necked crane *(Grus nigricollis)*, Blood pheasants *(Ithaginis oruentus tibetanus, Ithaginis cruentus kuseri)*, Brown headed gull *(Larus brunnicephalus)*, Cheer Pheasant *(Catreus wallichii)*, Combduck *(Sarkidiornis melanotos)*, Forest spotted owlet *(Athene blewitti)*, Great Indian Bustard *(Choriotis nigriceps)*, Great Indian Hornbill *(Buceros bicornis)*, Hooded crane *(Grus monacha)*, Hornbills *(Ptilolaemus tickelli austeni, Aceros nipalensis, Rhyticeros undulatus ticehursti)*, Houbara bustard *(Chlamydoti unbulata)*, Humes bar backed Pheasant *(Symaticus Nhumiae)*, Indian Pied Hornbill *(Anthracoceros malabaricus)*, Jerdon's courser *(Cursorius bitorguatus)*, Lammergeier *(Gypaetus barbatus)*, Large Falcons *(Falco peregrinus, Falco biarnicus* and *Falco chicguera)*, Large Whistling Teal *(Anatidae)*, Monal Pheasants *(Lophophorus impejanus)*, Mountain Quali *(Ophyrysia superciliosa)*, Narcondom Hornbill *(Rhyticeros undulatus), (narcondami)*, Nicober Megapode *(Megapodius freycinet)*, Nicober pigeon *(Caloenas nicobarica pelewensis)*, Peacock Pheasant *(Polypeotron bicalcaratum)*, Peafowl *(Pavo cristatus)*, Pinkheaded duck *(Rhodonessa caryophyllacea)*, Solater's Monal *(Lophophorus sclateri)*, Siberian White crane *(Grus leucogeranus)*, Spurfowl *(Gallaperdix* spp.), Tibetan Snow-cock *(Tetraogallus tibetanus)*, Tragopan Pheasants *(Tragopan melanocephalus, Tragopan blythii, Tragopan satyra, Tragopan temmincki)*, Whitebellied Sea Eagle *(Haliaetus leucogaster)*, White-eared Pheasant *Crossoptilon crossoptilon)*, White spoon bill *(Platalea leucorodia)*, and White winged Wood Duck *(Cairina scutulata)*.

Among the mammals are the Capped Langur *(Presbytis pileatus)*, Lion-tailed macaque *(Macaca silensus)*, White-browed Gibbon *(Hylobates hoolock)*, Tiger *(Panthera t. tigris)*, Lion *(P. leopersoca)*, Leopard *(P. pardus)*, Snow leopard *(P. uncia)*, Clouded leopard *(Neofelis nebulosa)*, marbled cat *(Felis marmorata)*, Golden cat *(F. temmineki)*, Leopard cat *(F. bengalensis)*, Fishing cat *(F. viverrina)*, Desert cat *(F. silvestris ornata)*, Caracal *(F. caracal)*, Lynx *(F. lynx)* Binturong *(Arctictis binturong)*, Spotted Linsang *(Prionodon pardicolor)*, India *Wolf (Canis lepus pallipes)*, Sloth bear *(Melursus ursinus)*, Kashmir Wooly flying squirrel *(Eupetarus cinereus)*, Kashmir flying squirrel *(Hylopetes fimbriatus)*, Particoloured flying squirrel *(H. allosoniges)*, Hairy-footed flying squirrel *(Petaurista petaurista)*, Indian elephant *(Elephas maximus)*, Asiatic wild Ass *(Asinus hemionus)*, Great Indian one-horned rhinoceros *(Rhinoceros unicornis)*, Wild buffalo *(Bubalus bubalis)*, Shapur *(Ovis orientalis vignei)*, Nayan *(Ovis ammon hodgsoni)*, Markhor *(Capra falconeri)*, Himalayan Tahr *(Hemitraqus jemalahicus)*, Nilgiri Tahr *(H. hylocrus)*, Serow *(Capricornis sumatreansis)*, Chinkara *(Gazella dorcas)*, Black buck *(Antlope cervicapra)*, Four-horned antelope *(Tetracerus quadricornis)*, Kashmir stag *(Cervus elaphus hanglu)*, Thamin *(C. eldi eldi)*, Swamp deer *(C. duvauceli duvauceli* & *C. d. branderi)*, Musk deers *(Moschus sifanicus* (Alpine musk deer), & *M. chrysogaster chrysogaster (Forest musk deer)*, Indian chevrotain *(Tragulas meminna)*, Pygmy hog *(Sus salvanius)*, Andaman Wild Pig *(Sus scrofa andamanensis)*, Sea cow or Dugong *(Dugong dugon)*, Humpbacked Whale *(Megaptera novaengliae)*, Blue Whale *(Balaenoptera musculus)*, Gangetic dolphin *(Plantanista gangetica)* and common dolphin *(Delphinus delphis)*. (Ananthakrishnan, 1981; Anonymous, 1981).

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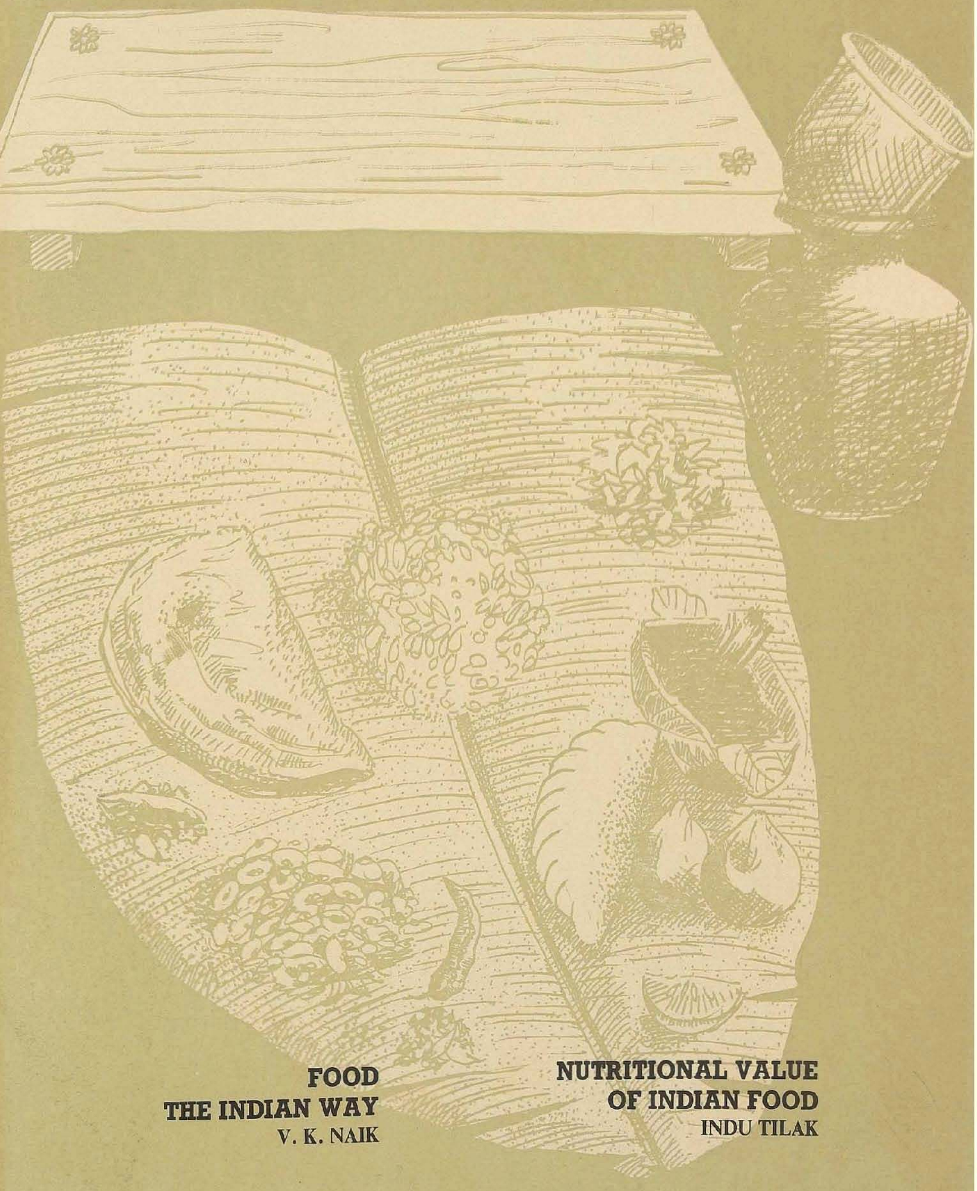


FOOD THE INDIAN WAY

V. K. NAIK

NUTRITIONAL VALUE OF INDIAN FOOD

INDU TILAK

Food - The Indian Way

Dr. V. K. Naik

A panoramic view of the Indian Food culture reveals a very wide and diverse variety. In a country which is almost a sub-continent, not only have many religions contributed their food heritage but the regions also are instrumental in enriching the food habits of the Indians, resulting in innumerable variety of typically Indian foods.

Even in the matter of entertaining a visitor or a guest in an Indian household, a sense of propriety and hospitality is evident. A guest is in fact regarded as akin to God. Even there is a saying in Sanskrit '*Atithi Devo Bhava*'. 'Say it with Sweets' seems to be the motto in treating a guest. Whereas in the Western countries a guest is offered a drink—usually alcoholic, in modern India it is customary to offer the cup that cheers but not inebriates to wit, the ubiquitous tea.

But not long before, the Maharashtra rural custom was to offer Gur (Jaggery) and Water. In the Gujaratis even now, a glass of plain water is the first thing a guest received. This custom is probably based on the assumption that the guest must be thirsty, a common occurrence when one moves about in a tropical country like India. Among the Sindhis, a roasted or fried Papad is presented along with a glass of water. In some parts of North Kanara, a dish prepared from parched rice (Poha) and garnished with grated coconut is the favourite way of entertaining a guest.

It was by trial and error that the early man decided what foods were good for him. Exact knowledge of the Science of Dietetics is a comparatively recent achievement and came to him gradually and step by step. Medicine, Biochemistry, Agriculture and last but not the least, Religious belief have all conspired to dictate the food habits of man as knowledge became extensive and as man, a gregarious animal, had growing social contact with other human tribes and habitation. This happened all the world over and India is no exception to this.

Man from the earliest times was a meat eater, not out of choice but out of a sheer necessity. But as the Buddhist influence began to pervade all over India, Slaughter of animals for food was not only abhorred but possibly totally forbidden too. This was on religious grounds directly as a result of the doctrine of 'Ahimsa' (Non-violence).

With the passage of time and the spread of

Islam, animal flesh once again found favour with the masses as with their Muslim rulers in the north. But here again there was an exception on religious grounds. Eating of Pork is totally forbidden by Islam. While a Muslim will have no qualms about eating Beef, the same will be frowned upon by an ardent Hindu. The cow is held sacred by the Hindus and the slaughter of that animal, especially in public, has aroused the ire of the Hindu community even in the days of Shivaji, over 300 years ago.

Indian heritage has assimilated all the various religious beliefs and communities guided by their religious beliefs, nevertheless continue to live side by side in peace and tolerence.

Even the loudest supporters of a Herbivorous Diet have been forced to acknowledge that a meat diet has certain advantages. As the constituents of the different foods became known on scientific basis, it was discovered that animal products are rich in 'Essential Amino-acids' which are absolutely necessary for the growth of human body. It is the proteins in the animal flesh that contain these vital 'Amino acids' which are about 22 in number. Animal proteins are regarded as 'superior' and flesh contains about 20 to 25% of proteins.

Man learnt by experience that a pure diet of cereals, pulses and vegetables was just not enough for his sustenance. He had to supplement it with animal products. This had to be done without offending the religious sentiments in various communities. A way was soon found out and this was the basis of a 'Lactovegetarian Diet'. Milk was the answer.

From times immemorial, man had no doubt observed animals breast-feeding their young ones as did the human mother. Milk, although coming from animal source, does not involve any killing and therefore does not harm any religious susceptibilities and sentiments. It was easily accepted as a part of a diet even by the so-called strict vegetarians.

The multiplicity of the classifications of the diet has encouraged in the preparations of a number of dishes which include all varieties of foods Meat is cooked with vegetables like Bhendi (Lady's finger) — Bhendi-gosht, a popular dish. Potatoes are mixed with meat and the extract of raw coconut is a common enough addition to meat in the preparation of different meat dishes. All have enriched the Indian cuisine. Several tasty preparations are possible as a result of such combinations. Fish, relished most by the Bengalees, coastal populations and the Goans also enrichour cuisine.

The good influence religion has exercised on the minds of Indians is evident in the way food is regarded as sacred. Man has considered food to be a gift of the God and has treated it with reverence due to it. A small act like kicking a dish full of food is considered akin to a sin. Eating of food is not just filling or sacrifice rpfi-coe-lb etaoin shrdlum not just filling up one's belly. It is an act of religious offering or sacrifice (Yajnyakarma).

The respect accorded by the Indians to food is reflected in the various acts of self-purification, semi-fasts or total abstinence from food or at least some of its varieties. In the early times the influence of religion was tremendous. Hence all these acts were granted religious bias or flavour. But there appears to be an under current of humility in this abstinence, regard to dumb animals and gratitude to the Almighty.

Among the Hindus, in the four months of rainy season, Chaturmasa is observed with great sincerity. During this period, some people totally abstain from eating a few varieties of foods which they otherwise consume with impunity. Only after completion of those four months will they start eating those foodstuffs. This is an act of self denial and its basis is in man's humility.

Some of these acts are named as 'Vratas', which have a religious and therefore are observed with scrupulously religious fervour and strict methods. A fact worth mentioning is that not only do adult and elderly males and females observe these 'Vratas' but young unmarried girls also observe them. This is to obtain a good husband. It is not as naive as it appears as actually all the world over the ambition of all the marriageable girls is similar.

Man's compassionate nature is reflected in some of the token gestures he makes particularly in the Hindu Society. Man has realised that killing of an animal for food is at best a necessary evil. But man's innate goodness asserts itself at times and he decides to abstain from meat eating on certain days. There are many regular meat eaters who do not eat flesh on either a Monday or a Tuesday, or a Thursday or a Friday or a Saturday. These five days are most commonly observed as meatless days. In certain communities during the whole month of the Sharavana of the Hindu Calender, a regular meal eater deprives himself of the pleasure of consuming meat.

The idea of self purification forms the basis of a 'Fast' or upawasa. This takes the form of extremely rigorous type amongst Jains, certain Christians, Muslims and puritan Hindus. They will not even drink water during a fast, let alone eat anything.

But of course such a rigid regimen is obviously not possible for most people. By common consent, several variations of a 'fast' are in vogue. South Indians are found to favour restricting their diet to just milk and fruit. Gujaratis prefer 'roots' like potato, sweet potato and items not consumed daily while most other Hindus do likewise and eat Sago in addition to Dates. It is interesting to note that potato, Dates, Sago are all of foreign origin. Possibly for this reason they

may have found favour as articles of a diet during a 'Fast'. They are all insipid tasting and offend no sentiments.

As all these gestures are actively connected with food, the importance our heritage accords to food is made evident. Food is a vital substance and its denial for a time assumes a temporary sacrifice, worship of God and dedication to the idea of self-purification.

From all this one thing that stands out is the reverence for food among all religions and beliefs. The divine gift of food is recognised as something out of the ordinary. Man in turn shows his gratitude to both the food and God in offering a prayer at meal time.

Thus the Christians say 'Grace' before a meal. Muslims, too, before sitting down to a meal will utter the words beginning with *'Bismilla, al hum ......'* which is invocation to God. During the month of Ramzan while breaking his fast in the evening, a Muslim prays in these words, 'Oh, Allah, I observe this fast for you. I have faith and trust in you ..., Hindus also accord due reverence to food and God and offer a prayer to obtain God's blessings by doing *a 'Naivedya'*.

But the Grace among the Hindus takes a much broader view than just praise to God. In Bhagwad Geeta, the God himself becomes Fire (Vaishwanara) on entering the human body and consumes food (vide Adhyay 15 of that holy work).

A prayer before a meal takes the form of a good will for all. Starting with the words *'Om Sahana wawatu'*, the prayer lays stress on the learning that may protect, be useful and make both the teacher and the pupil powerful and free from hatred. It ends with a wish for peace for all. Thus the welfare of the mankind is sketched on a broader canvas and not all the importance is given to merely invoking God.

Now from the metaphysics to the pure science ! The Science of Dietetics as we understand by the modern standards was not known to the ancients. It is therefore worth analysing the main constituents of the various diets in vogue in different communities in India from olden times. Basically the diets were formed according to the availability of food grains, other articles of food and cattle in different parts of the country. This is obvious from the fact that in the Punjab, preponderance of a wheat crop has led to the consumption of wheat products amongst those people. In Bengal and in the South, consumption of rice is due to the growing of paddy in abundance in those parts. Similarly, the staple diet of the Maharashtrains is millets — Jowar and Bajra, as their cultivation in abundance gives the local population its main food. In the fertile land of Uttar Pradesh breeding of cattle on a large scale is possible due to favourable circumstances and as a result milk and milk products are consumed in plenty by those people.

The question is whether all these diets stand up to the tests of a Balanced Diet, about which practically everything that is worth knowing is now common knowledge. It is to the immense credit of our forefathers that by observation, rugged common sense and possibly by trial and error they arrived at a diet which approximates to the definition of a Balanced Diet. They had obviously no means available to put their diet to a scientific test but man's intelligence must have come in handy.

The cereals (rice, wheat and Millets) and the pulses (dals) which form the main bulk of a so-called 'Vegetarian Diet' are deficient in fats but rich in carbohydrates and the pulses in particular are the main source of proteins. Hence the practice of adding vegetable oils and ghee to them while cooking.

In a typical diet rice is consumed with fried pulses thus providing adequate amount of the three essentials of food — Carbohydrates, Proteins and Fats. The use of green leafy vegetable and eating raw fruits supplied minerals and vitamins, so does the inclusion of sour lemon which ensures an adequate quota of Vitamin C. Wheat, a superior quality of carbohydrate food contains some protein but lacks fats. This is rectified by a liberal use of oil and ghee and baking a chapati or a paratha or in frying a puri. Ample use of milk and its products that is curds and butter milk supplies the superior variety of proteins (or First class proteins as they are rightly called because they contain the essential amino-acids). It will be thus evident that a judicious combination of the available food stuffs had to a large extent succeeded in giving a Balanced Diet just by usage and common sense.

The South-Indian Idli is another adequate combination of carbohydrates and proteins. Rice and Urad dal are used in its preparation. Cooked on steam and eaten with Sambar, which contains vegetables and sour substances and fried dal, the Idli serves nearly a concentrated mini-diet which is almost a balanced one. This popular commodity now adorns the breakfast table in other parts of the country as well and is not confined to South alone.

Likewise a number of food stuffs serve as articles of a breakfast in different parts of India. A Western breakfast will faithfully restrict itself to bacon and eggs and toast. But the Indian breakfast enjoys a wide variety. Apart from the Idli and its variation Vada, Maharashtra enters the cuisine race and contributes a sweet variety of wheat flour (by a special process wheat is turned into Rava grains) called Shira. Its unsweetened variety is the first cousin of the South Indian Uppitam. Jilebi or Imartia, a Northern sweet and the Gulabjamun cater to a sweet tooth and are in great demand.

Not withstanding the regional prejudices, a judi-

cious combination of the varieties of eatables from different parts of the country, makes an Indian diet rich in taste, food value and acceptibility, not to say in variety too !

Contrary to popular belief, the humble (in other word cheaper) items of food, fruit and vegetables are a very rich source of essential vitamins, minerals and medicinal value. Amla (Indian gooseberry) is one of the richest sources of Vitamin C, much more than the costlier and more fashionable tomato. Oranges believed to be a very rich source of Vitamin C, have unfortunately more of Vitamin C content in the peel which is not eaten. Sweet lime (Mosumbi), regarded as another store house of the water soluble Vitamin C, has its copy-book blotted out by its West Indies cousin. This variety is deficient in Vitamin C.

Amla is regarded very highly in Ayurveda and thus forms an essential ingredient in the Chyavanprasha, a popular Ayurvedic tonic. Thus its medicinal value is enhanced.

Spinach *(Palak)*, a green leafy vegetable and fairly freely available everywhere is a good source of the mineral iron. Mixed with potato, it forms a very savoury dish (Alu-Palak), well appreciated in north and in Maharashtra.

The comparatively neglected and cheap fruit chikoo is another rich source of iron. A ripe chikoo can be conveniently mixed in a fruit salad. Jambul, the violet coloured summer fruit mostly from the rural area and the extract of raw Bitter Gourd (Karela) have their use in medicine by virtue of their Hypoglycaemic properties — in plain words reducing blood sugar in patients suffering from Diabetes Mellitus. In India trials on the use of Karela extract have been conducted since many years and now Westerners have started taking interest in its properties.

While the claims of Onion and garlic in their ability to reduce the incidence of heart disease in general and that of garlic in reducing blood cholesterol in particular have yet to be fully substantiated. Their use in daily diet is certainly welcome both from the point of their property of improving the flavour of a diet and their potential medicinal value. This is also true of Ginger which has carminative properties in addition to its use as condiment.

Many of the cheaper varieties of green leafy vegetables like *Math, Tandulsa, Pokala* etc. are equal in their mineral content (and vitamines) to the more fashionable *Palak (Spinach)* and *Chakwat*. Their use needs to be encouraged among city dwellers. They are already used on a much larger scale in the rural areas and are an example of our heritage, a rich one coming from the poor parts of the country.

Taken as individual items of diet, the cereals, pulses and green leafy vegetables contain proteins which are inferior in biological value to animal proteins. But in combinations the above substances can make up for their individual deficiency and attain fairly high biological values. Obviously in India this thing has been observed from earlier times. This may be one of the reasons why an Indian diet, despite its shortcomings is not deficiency diet.

Of course to come up to the recommendations of the Nutritional Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research, the total calories one should get from a diet is about 2600 to 2800. This is a basic requirement and needs adjustment according to the nature of one's physical work. By suitable adjustments Indian diets have managed to come up to the requisite standards.

One of the requisites of a Balanced Diet is that it should have a sufficient bulk. Since food has to pass through a digestive tube of about 6 meters (20 feet) in length, it is easy to understand why a diet should have enough bulk. The concentrated food tablets of the fantasies will obviously not solve the problem of a bulk in a diet. Indian diet, if at all, tends to be on a bulkier side if consumed on a large scale.

This contrasts with the Western diet which is usually small and mostly dry. Hence it has to be 'washed down' with some beverage, commonly the alcoholic type. But the Indian diet is much more liquid in content and takes the help of the various 'Curries'. These are Indian specialities rich in aroma, flavour and stimulate the gustatory cells. Our curries are embellished with spices of different types, practically each region in India contributes its brand of the spices. Several combinations of the spices are available and all of them add to the taste of food.

Western food is comparatively of the bland type and the use of spices is not a common feature of their cuisine. Ironically enough, the early adventurers from the West came to the East, in search of spices which however do not seem to have found favour with their palates. They regard the spices as too 'hot' and difficult to eat. Whatever the ill-effects of the spices, the truth remains that the Westerners miss a treat by not including them in their regular diet. Adding powdered pepper to the food which is already cooked is not an Indian's idea of making a dish tasty and appetising. But here is a difference in food culture of the various people from the distant parts of the world.

Having assimilated different types of cuisines, prevalent in various parts of the country, India has come out with a rich heritage in cuisine which shows its individuality in the presence of multiplicity. This is evident by the varieties we can present to the world. These come from different parts of our country and have been on display from earlier times.

Food is not merely eaten by man for his subsistence alone, although this is the main function of food. As

the most intelligent living being on this earth, man has, by virtue of his knowledge and other attributes, developed a taste for food in his own inimitable way. In other words he has become a connoiseur of food. Hence his use of different condiments, spices and a variety of methods of cooking. This has resulted in a separate art of cuisine and each region contributes its own delicacies. Thus it is a far cry from the primitive man eating raw roots and meat to the sophisticated human of today using a wide repertoire of cooking aids and implements to specialise in the art of cuisine.

A number of Pickles are used in different parts of the country. Seasonal fruit like raw mango are chiefly used for pickles. Here too, regionwise many varieties are available and each of them gives a different taste. Sour lemons are used on a large scale for pickling and are particularly favoured by the sick since lemon is considered to have medicinal properties. Carrots, green chillies, cauliflower and many other vegetables are pickled and they provide a variety which caters to many a taste. The main ingredients of all the pickles are spices, dry chilli powder, turmeric and asafoetida (Hing). A liberal addition of a vegetable oil helps in improving their taste and their preservation for a longer time.

Chutney is another Indian speciality of condiments and is mostly in the form of a paste or occasionally dry. The nearest equivalents to Indian Chutney are the sauces in the Western diets. Garlic, coconut (dry and raw), ground nuts, sesame and the chillies (green or dried) are most commonly the chief ingredients of the Indian chutnies.

Papad is another speciality, essentially an Indian. It is prepared either from Urad dal, Mung dal or Potato or Poha. A thin 'puri'like spread out is dried in the sun and is served either baked on a naked fire or is fried. It forms an essential item in an Indian diet. As it is a salted variety, it adds to the taste of a meal.

All the ingredients of a typical Indian meal are from the products commonly available in the market. Thus economically all the common items are within the reach of a common man. It is the many delicacies which being 'elite' products are costly and are most commonly used in the various festivals which form an essential part of the lives of Indians.

Milk, a rather prosaic food stuff (by the standards of taste and not the quality), has given rise to several aristocratic delicacies in Indian cuisine. The pride of place goes to Maharashtra which boasts of Shreekhand. It is prepared from curds from which all the water is removed by putting curds in a piece of cloth which is hung from a height. After several hours a soft mass remains which is sweetened abundantly and given a rich colour and an exotic flavour by the addition of Saffron. The resultant substance, creamy in consistency and appetising in look, is the Shreekhand. This delicacy is served at many festivals.

Sweetened milk, also flavoured with saffron and mixed with pieces of almond, is called 'Basundi' and is particularly popular in Uttar Pradesh and the North. It is also regarded as giving strength and is used by wrestlers.

The Bengalees have come out with their own brands of delicacies of milk products, viz. Rasagulla and Sandesh. Both as sweetened varieties and are prepared by separating the ingredients of milk by adding a sour substance to hot milk. Panir is the Indian equivalent of the Western Cheese.

Another variety of milk products is the Butter milk or Lassi, either sweetened or salted, is not only popular everywhere but is in great demand particularly in summer. It allays thirst and is very nutritious.

Butter — another milk product has a tendency to become rancid in tropical climates. Indians have found an answer to it. By heating butter for several minutes excess water is removed and what remains is semisolid substance which lasts a long time even in hot weather. It is called 'Ghee' or clarified butter and is used in all preparations where frying is required. A rich source of vitamins A & D, the Indian Ghee is the most acceptable fat of animal origin.

All these milk products are of the concentrated variety and are a rich source of food value in addition to catering to the palate. India being a country of festivals, a wide variety of snacks are prepared by the different communities. While the Christians celebrate a Christmas with Cakes, the Muslims celebrate the Ramzan Rozas with a milk preparation named 'Sheer Korma'. Among the Hindus the most cherished festival Divali (literally the festival of lights) is celebrated with great gaiety and in consuming several types of snacks. The rainy season is full of religious festivals particularly in Maharashtra and the popular item at these festivals is the 'Puran Poli'. Dried gram dal is cooked in water and is later ground to a paste to which sugar or jaggery is added. Mixed with wheat flour a unique type of chapati is prepared. This is the famous 'Puran Poli', a rich delicacy. In the South a special preparation out of milk, rice and jaggery is the special delicacy usually prepared for the 'Pongal' festival.

Gram flour is widely used in the preparations of different snacks. Bhajias, Boñdas, Chana Bhatura and the sweet laddus are the popular and comparatively cheaper varieties of snacks. Boiled and mashed potato mixed with thick gram flour forms the perennially popular 'Potato Wada.' Khaman and Dhokla are the equally popular Gujarati types of snacks.

It is evident that the sweet preparations are not the only 'piece de resistance' of Indian cuisine.

Moghlai dishes have added an infinite variety to our cuisine. Like knowledge, cuisine also is not static and other methods are quickly absorbed to enrich our cuisine. As the name suggests, the advent of the Moghal rulers in the North was chiefly instrumental in ushering an era of these splendid dishes that enrich a dinner table. Most of these dishes are meat varities viz. Kofta, Kurma, Rogan gosh etc. They are eaten with relish by those who like meat preparations. Even in Maharashtra where the majority community eats meat from centuries ago, it has been freely admitted that the most appetising meat cuisine was introduced by the former rulers in the North. As a result this cuisine is absorbed by the meat eaters who treat it as a rare delicacy. The regional food, very hot in taste due to the excessive use of red and green pepper has largely been replaced by the Moghlai variety. Even vegetarian dishes are embellished with this really exotic cuisine and our cooking has been given a new dimension in outlook and taste. Now they are regarded as Indian dishes.

From the North, another delicacy has come to enrich the Indian cuisine. It is the 'Tandoori' type. From Tandoori roti to Tandoori chicken and now even Tandoori Fish have all made this typical variety of Indian cuisine famous all over the world. By comparison the Western version of 'Barbecue' looks a primitive and even crude effort.

Practically every region of the country contibutes a speciality of its own, adding to the already ample variety of Indian cuisine and proving a 'Gourmet's delight.'

Puritans may frown on this servility to the pleasures of the table, especially those who believe that man should eat to live and not the other way round. But is must not be forgotten that man is unique in this. Possessing the most developed brain in the animal kingdom, man has justly climbed to the top of the ladder of evolution and it is but meet that he should take an active interest in what he eats. No other animal is capable of this art. At best some of the animals realise the deficiencies in their diet and try to rectify them by instinct. Thus some animals developing calcium deficiency are found to favour drinking brackish water rather than ordinary water. But that is about all.

It is difficult to change food habits and the Westerners have found that they could not take to Indian food. Even the Britishers, despite their stay (or rather the rule) with us for over a century and half never managed to accept the Indian way of cooking and eating food. Similarly even in India, customs and habits differ so widely in various regions that people of a particular area rarely take on the food habits of other regions. It is therefore not surprising to find that even in dire circumstances people refuse to change their food habits. This was most prignantly displayed in the notorious famine in Bengal in 1943. Although other foodstuffs were available the predominantly rice eating population preferred starvation to changing their life long eating habits and ultimately paid the extreme penalty. It therefore appears that human nature is the same everywhere and geographical distances make no difference.

It will be seen that Indian cuisine, rich in variety, approximates to the necessities of modern science yet is influenced by religious beliefs. Nevertheless it does not overlook the socio-economic aspect as it uses all the commonly available items which are fairly cheap. It has its own types of delicacies and a rich heritage of its own. It retains its identity even in the midst of a diversity because of regional variations. Ranging from the primitive and crude firewood cooking, it now uses all modern devices. Yet with it all the Indian cuisine essentially remains throughly Indian.

Nutritional Value Of Indian Food

Indu Tilak

The climatic conditions, different in different parts, determine the patterns of life which have evolved through the ages including people's diet, their costumes and their architecture. Adapting to the conditions around them, people evolved their cuisine which is marked by a fascinating variety, at once appetising and satisfying.

Meal Pattern

In spite of the variety, meal pattern is somehow common. Rice, plain Dal, seasoned Dal, Chapati, leafy vegetable curry, mixed vegetables, salad, pickles and Chutney, curd, butter milk and milk are the common items of an Indian lunch and dinner. A variety of sweets and savourey dishes are served according to season and custom. They are, however, not necessarily served as the last course.

Cereals

Indian economy is mostly based on agriculture. A wide variety of cereals is produced in different parts of the country and they constitute the bulk of the Indian diet. Prominent among the cereals are rice, wheat, maize, Jowar and Bajra. These cereals, when consumed whole, provide minerals like calcium, phosphorus and iron, proteins and vitamin B Complex. However, the quality of protein obtained from the cereals is considered of low value.

In the south as well as in the eastern States of Assam, West-Bengal and Orissa and in Kashmir in the north, rice is the staple diet while Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh constitute the wheat belt of India where Roti is the mainstay. In Gujarat and Maharashtra where the main production is Jawar, Bajra, maize and Nachani. Roti or Chapati (a kind of pan bread) constitutes the main item of food. Until a few years ago, we were labouring under a misapprension regarding the protein content of these cereals. Intensive research was undertaken to assess their food value and it has now been established that they are rich in proteins though not of the quality of protein available from meat, fish and poultry. According to Dr. P. V. Sukhatme ('Mal-nutrition and Poverty') some 40 per cent of the rural and 50 per cent of the urban population do not get enough from what they eat to meet the minimum energy demands for a healthy and active life. In other words,

about 250 to 300 million people are under-nourished.

Pulses and Legumes

A cereal diet is necessarily supplemented in almost every Indian home by recipies of legumes and|or pulses. Sprouted legumes like Chavli, Moong, Matki, Masoor, peas, and gram (green and black), are a rich source of protein together with A and C vitamins. Sprouted legumes have been an important item of diet since times immemorial. A meal consisting of cereals, legumes or pulses supplies good quality of proteins.

Various permutations and combinations of cereals and pulses have been tried and adopted in different parts of the country to evolve a balanced diet. The constituents of the south-Indian snacks such as Idali and Dosa are black gram and rice in aproportion of 1:2. The result is that the south-Indian meal is satisfying and provides the required amount of protein and energy for an active life. Pulses in different forms are also used with rice.

In Maharashtra, a combination of rice and Tur Dal together with home-made Ghee with a sprinkle of lemon juice gives a vigorous start to a traditional meal. In Punjab, Tur Dal is substituted by black gram, while in Gujarat Moong is generally preferred. Rice and Dal are followed by a course of Chapatis. Besides these popular pulses, gram flour is used in several preparations, particularly savoury snacks.

Papad and a variety of dehydrated products are other items which are popular throughout the country. Papad is made of green and black gram and is used as a side dish in most parts of the country. The Sindhis, however, use it as a dessert. Papads of different varieties are now available in the market though most of the house-wives prefer rolling Papads to cater to their distinctive tastes.

Salads

For salads, vegetables and fruits are used mostly in raw forms. Fruits are also eaten in raw form, so they supply a good amount of mineral and vitamins especially vitamin C, which is rather unstable to heat.

One more constituent of an Indian meal is some kind of a vegetable whether it be brinjals, lady's fingers, gourds of all kinds, cauliflower or cabbage. Vegetables provide minerals like calcium, phosphorous and to some extent iron. The need for vitamin C is also met to a certain extent by these vegetables. A wide variety of green vegetables is also produced and consumed with relish in all parts of the country. They include fenugreek, spinach, lettuce, mustard, *Chakvat, Math,* colocossia etc. Most of these are seasonal vegetables. They are, however, rich in minerals and vitamins.

The wide variety in vegetables has given rise to various methods of preparing them. Some standard modes have been evolved, but an imaginative housewife can always innovate to enhance the taste of her preparation as well as its food value. The common way, however, is to heat a little oil, add a little rapeseed, asafoetida, turmeric and cummin-seed and then add cut vegetable. When cooked, salt and jaggery are added to taste.

Fruits also constitute an important part of Indian diet. An authentic census of the varieties of fruit produced in India has perhaps still to be undertaken. Though the popular fruits like mangoes, apples, grapes, oranges, sweet lemons and others are beyond the reach of the common people, there is a wide variety of berries growing in hilly parts which can be consumed by the poor people to meet their vitamin and mineral needs.

Dairy Products

Among the milk producing cattle it is the buffalo that is the main supplier of milk in India. Cow's milk is preferred for children and aged people. The meek she-goat also meets the demand for milk of the poor people in villages. Milk products like curds and buttermilk are used for almost every meal in an Indian home irrespective of the nature of the climate. Several sweets are also milk based. Among them, Pedhas are invariably distributed, almost on every festival occasion. The Bengalis have evolved several sweet preparations by treating milk in different ways. Milk is coagulated by adding acid and after coagulation water is separated and Panir, the precipitate, is turned into several delicious varieties of sweets including the famous Rasagullas. Unlike the western system, sweets are consumed during a meal along with Chapati or Puri and not at the end of the meal.

Though the production of sugar in India is plentiful, jaggery is used in several preparations for its peculiar taste. In addition, jaggery is rich in iron. Several sweets are prepared in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu from a combination of jaggery and grated coconut.

Ghee can be considered to be a product of Indian genius. When milk is boiled and left to cool gradually, a layer of cream is formed. The cream is turned into curds and left in that state for a day. When this curd is churned, butter automatically surfaces. Butter is separated from the liquid and melted and boiled for some time till it clarifies. This clarified butter is Ghee. Ghee is delicious as well as nutritious. This Ghee is, of course, costly and is used in the household rather sparingly. Pure Ghee is substituted by vegetable hydrogenated oil.

Oil-seeds

Oilseeds like sesame, groundnut, linseed and mustard are also commonly used in an Indian kitchen. In addition to these, cottonseed oil is also coming into vogue. Oil is an essential medium for frying as well as preparing any kind of vegetables. Depending

on the production of any particular oil seed in a region, oil of that particular seed is commonly used.

Medicinal Value

While discussing Indian food products, it is necessary to consider the various ingredients which are used for seasoning food items, to impart to them the desired taste flavour and aroma. These spices are of course used in small quantities and, therefore, need not be considered for their nutritive value. Fresh ginger, garlic and onion are used for strong flavour of any food item. Other spices commonly used are turmeric, cummin-seeds, coriander seed, black pepper, cinnamon, cardamom, cloves, poppy seeds, bayleaf, green and red chillies, mustard and fresh green coriander. Several households have a ready stock of these spices or their mixtures finely ground for use in different recipes. Their proportion in any preparation is decided by the housewife. Out of these, the mixture of cummin and coriander is used profusely. Similarly, fresh as well as dried coconut imparts a characteristic flavour to different preparations of mutton, chicken and fish. It should, however, be noted that all these varieties of spices are not used uniformly in all Indian kitchens. In many households garlic and onion are taboo.

What makes a dish attractive depends largely on its appearance, particularly its colour. Turmeric is used for imparting a yellowish tinge to different preparations, while saffron plays the same role in delicacies like Shreekhand, Barphy, Kheer (porridge). In addition, saffron has its unique flavour. Green coriander finely cut and fresh grated coconut are used as garnishing media.

The spices enumerated above, besides imparting taste and flavour, have different medicinal properties. Perhaps because of their medicinal properties they have earned a place in Indian cuisine.

Green and dried chilly make any food item pungent. Their proportion, however, depends upon how members of any family can tolerate pungency. It also varies regionwise. Farmers in different parts of the country eat their bread with a condiment of chillies and garlic. A condiment consisting of green chillies, rape seeds and lime juice is very tasty and would be found in almost every household. The medicinal properties of chillies are still a matter of research. However, it is known to be an appetiser as well as helpful in digestion.

Garlic is a potent medicine and is known to preserve health. It is particularly good for eyes, lungs, heart and throat. It also safeguards health when any epidemic breaks out. Garlic also helps to cure a sore. In addition, it can be consumed with advantage by patients of high blood-pressure, rheumatism, asthma and T. B. Garlic can be consumed in any form — raw, roasted or fried.

Ginger is another appetiser and a digestive agent. Juice of ginger, if applied to any painful part of the body, is known to provide immediate relief. Juice of ginger and lemon with a pinch of common salt and asafoetida, forms a digestive and imparts taste. The effect of medicines which are intended to bring down fever is enhanced if they are given with ginger juice.

Fresh and dried coriander powder can help relieve burning sensation and urinary disorders. Juice of fresh coriander is also helpful in controlling heart ailments.

Cummin seed, besides whetting appetite, can help cure chronic fever and intestinal disorders. Cummin powder with sugar acts as a tonic for pregnant women and children.

A piece of cinnamon held under an aching tooth can relieve pain. It also helps relieve sore throat. A decoction of cloves, cinnamon, ginger and coriander is known to be a specific against influenza. People suffering from disorders of the lungs and respiratory tract can also profit by the use of cinnamon.

Pepper corn is also a known appetiser. Ground pepper corn, if taken with honey for a period of about three weeks, can improve digestion and at the same time relieve cough and asthama.

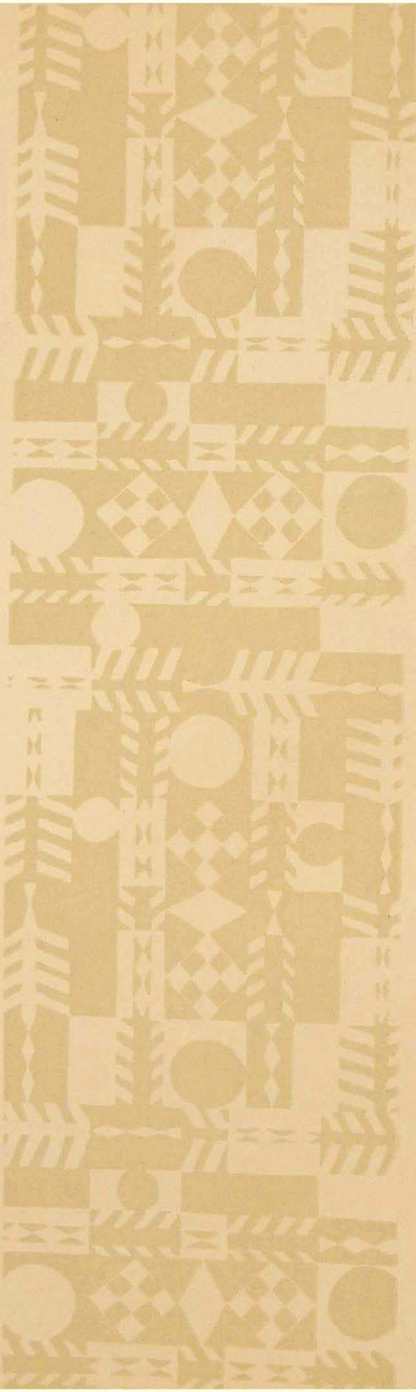
Ground rape-seed put in a wet pad of cotton can provide relief to any aching part of the body. Mustard oil massage provides relief to rheumatic patients. It is commonly used in the north during winter.

Cloves provide relief in bronchitis. Clove powder taken with honey before any meal whets appetite. Clove oil relives toothache. Similarly, rheumatic pain is also relieved by a massage of clove oil.

Turmeric is an antiseptic and helps circulation of blood in the body.

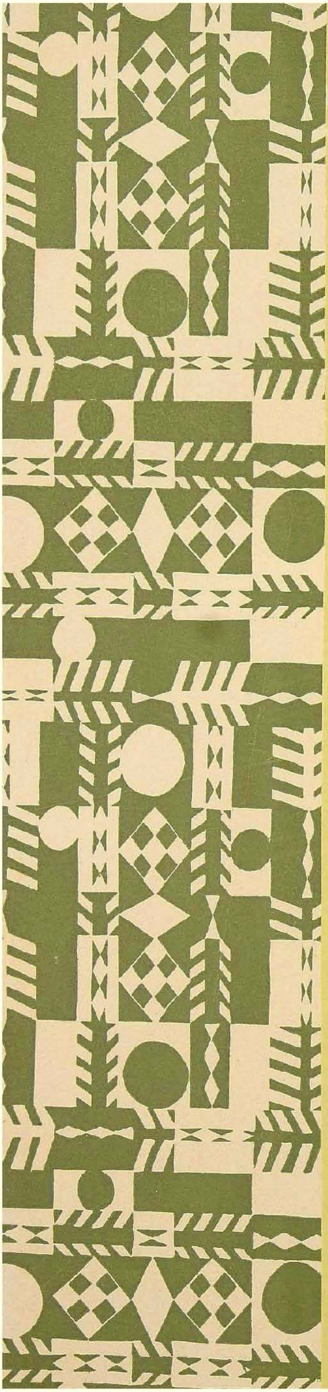
The medicinal properties of spices can be an interesting subject for resarch.

Thus the Indian food pattern has its age-old traditional values. A balanced diet and medicinal values seem to be a new concept, but it seems that these values, especially medicinal values, were studied in India long ago. Because of fastidious taste Indians love to have their own type of food. Food patterns are arranged in such a manner that they turn into a balanced diet.



ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY
INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION

VASANTKUMAR PANDIT



Astronomy and Astrology: India's Contribution

Vasantkumar Pandit

Jyotishshastra, i.e., the Science of Astrology, is very very ancient. It forms one of the important parts of Vedas described as *Shadanga Vedas*. Hence, there is an age-old tradition to this science. It has been commonly accepted and universally acknowledged that India had and has a well-developed scientific system of astrology. During the mediaeval period, a good part of the ancient science and treatises were lost or destroyed during the foreign invasions in India. In spite of this, thanks to the monumental work of Varahmihira, much of this science has been retrieved and exists today in a perfected form.

India possesses a rich record of the early development of this science through various references to the astral bodies, the celestial system, the movement of planets and the traditional beliefs enshrined in the Vedic Period. Actually, the Vedic references to the universe, the other worlds, the conception of time *(Kala)*, the *Nakshatras,* the *Grahas,* the movements of stars *(Parikrama)* and various other mentions in ancient literature vividly indicate a perfected conception of the entire system by the ancient sages. For example, the division of the unit year into 12 months or 360 days or 720 parts (day-night) was clearly conceived thousands of years B.C. For example,

द्वादशारं न हि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परि द्यामृतस्य ।

आ पुत्रा अग्ने मिथुनासो अत्र सप्तशतानि विंशतिश्चतस्थु :

द्वादश प्रधयश्चक्रमेकं त्रीणि नभ्यानि कउ तच्चिकेत ।

तस्मिन् त्साकं त्रिशता न शङ्कवोऽर्पिताः षष्टिर्नचलाचलासः ॥

"The wheel of the Eternal Order rotates around the heaven and possesses twelve spokes. It does not wear out. The sons with their consorts, 720 in number have stood in front. (R.V. 1-164-11) There is a wheel with twelve fellies, three axles. Who knows it? In it there are 360 nail-like moveable and immoveable parts." (R.V. 1-164-48)

Whether the calculation of the year was lunar or solar (tropical or sidereal) it is difficult to judge. But the month was definitely lunar. The use of the word *Purnamasi* is a clear proof of this.

Astrology was widely applied, rather essential, in the rituals and religious sacrifices during the Vedic Period. This was dependent on the phases of the moon

(Adhimasa). Even the idea of *Adhikamasa was* indicative of the perfection of scientific calculations. Similarly, there are various references in the *Taittiriya Samhita* and other places showing knowledge of the Ayana calculations, which has given rise to the *Ayanansha,* i.e., the movement of the equinoxis. All this, though apparently easy for a modern astronomer, is a glorious achievement for Indian seers in a period where modern instrumentation and advance knowledge were not available.

Next comes the stage when the planets and their movements through the *Nakshatra* system has been referred to. The importance of the Sun as the ruler of the solar system has been clearly evident. Thus, the importance of the sun as the main support of this universe was well recognised.

सप्त युञ्जन्ति रथमेकचक्रमेको अश्वो वहति सप्तनाम ।
त्रिनाभिचक्रमजरमनर्वं यत्रेमा विश्वाभुवनाधि तस्थुः ॥

"The seven (people) yoke the chariot having one wheel. One horse bearing seven names carries it. The wheel has three fellies, it is inexhaustible, where all the worlds have mounted". (R.V. 1-164-2).

The sun is the cause of the seasons, winds, the planets, existence, etc. This is clearly expressed in :

त्रीणि जाना परि भूषन्त्यस्य समुद्र एकं दिव्येकमप्सु ।
पूर्वामनु प्र दिशं पार्थिवानामृतून प्रशासद् विदधावनुष्ठु ॥

"They attend upon the three births of this *Agni,* one in the ocean, one in the waters and one in the heaven. Keeping in view the eastern direction of the earthly (regions), he has arranged the seasons in proper sequence." (R.V. 1-95-3)

" मुखं वा एतदृतूनां यद्वसन्त " (mentioned in Tait. Br. 1.1.2.6.7)

"The spring is the mouth of these season."

The astronomical references and selections of the Vedic Period indicate that the ancient astronomers had a fair conception of the speed *(gati)* of the planets and the entire system was fully systimatised in the *Vedanga Jyotisha.*

By the end of the Samhita Period, the connection of the moon with the *Nakshatras* was well established and, later on, developed into the *Nakshatras* system of calculations, akin to the Chinese System, and widely followed in Asia.

Thus Compare :

चित्राणि साकं दिवि रोचनानि सरी सृपाणि भुवने जवानि ।
अष्टाविंशं सुमतिमिच्छ मानो अहानि गीर्भि : सपर्यामि नाकम् ॥

"The luminaries in the heaven are lovely, the speeding reptiles in the world. At the 28th have desire for favour. The measuring rod is the days. I move towards the heaven with my hymns." (AV 19-7-1)

On the analogy of the Chinese *Sieon* and the Arabic *Manazil,* — which are also 28, it is not unlikely that the original number of *Nakshatras* was 28, which ultimately became 27 as the Abhijit was not generally accepted.

" यो वा अश्वस्य मेध्यस्य शिरो.........नक्षत्राणि
रूपं तारका अस्थानि..." (Tait Sam. 7.5.2.5)

"He who is the head of the sacrifice worthy horse — the constellations are the form and stars, the mouth".

The above brief glimpses in the scientific projections of the Vedic seers show the deep interest taken in scanning the universe and the heavenly bodies.

Even Weber, who is most reluctant to acknowledge Indian supremacy in this field and ascribes it to Babylonian influence, admits the establishment of the planets as an independent achievement of the Indians.

Having thus established the fundamentals of astronomy, it is not improbable that certain good or bad results were gradually ascribed to many of these aspects. The Vedic civilization, which exhibits belief in shakunas, prognostications and omens, cannot have missed ascribing favourable and evil results attaching to many of the astral occurances which are awe-inspiring and beyond human control. There are, no doubt, sufficient traces which must be regarded as the basis of the *Jyotisha Shastra* which was gradually established from the *Vedanga* period onwards.

Further, we get references to Ganaks, *Nakshatradarsha, Daivajna,* etc. which indicate that this branch of study was mastered and turned into a specialised profession. The words Daiva (mascu.), meaning the science of portents (the commentator Shankara explains as *Utpatajynana),* and *Nakshatra Vidya* are mentioned in the list of science studied by *Narada* as given in the *Chhandogya Upanishad.* In Tait. Bra. 3.10.9 we find a list of ancient astronomers, wherein *Janaka, Ahina,* son of *Ashvattha, Devabhaga, Shrautrisha* and *Shusha Varshreya* are mentioned.

It is also probable that the time of birth must have been correlated to some heavenly aspect, particularly the *Nakshatras,* and the ground prepared for forecasting the destiny on the basis. Thus, Rauhina used as the name of a descendant of *Vashishtha,* indicates one born under the *Nakshatra Rohini.*

The Theory of Eclipses, as noticed in the Rv., has led several scholars to calculate the date of some of these eclipses. Thus, Ludwig identifies one eclipse of the Rv. with the one which occurred in 1029 B.C.

The knowledge of the motion of the Polar Star, *Dhruvasya Prachalanam,* mentioned in *Maitrayani Upanishad* indicates, according to Jacobi, the possibility of fixing a date, on the ground that the only star which was really "immoveable" was 'a Draconis, — Dhruva — of the 3rd millenium B.C.

The system of *Nakshatras* has given incentive to several orientalists to work on the theory of the vernal equinox coinciding with a particular *Nakshatra*. Thus, Tilak has put forward the theory of the *Krittikas* which leads to the fixation of a period much prior to the 3rd millenium B.C. for the Rv. Even Weber had come to similar conclusions. Jacobi worked the chronology of the Vedas from the summer solstice occurring in *Nakshatra Falguni*.

Calculating from the precision of the equinoxes scholars like Weber, Jones, Pratt and others arrived at the date 1181 B.C. Other orientalists like Davis and Colebrooke calculated from the position of the Junction star (*Yogatara*) of constellation *Chitra* and arrived at the date 1391 B.C. On similar basis Tilak, Dr. Thibaut, Lassen and others have established the period of *Jyotisha* observations to be the 12th century B.C.

The fact that there is an enormous wealth of astral observations and references recorded in India's ancient literature since the time of the Vedas cannot be denied. This alone affords enough evidence for proving the independent development of the sciences of astronomy and astrology on the part of the ancient Indian people.

Vedanga Period

Any survey of ancient astronomy and astrology will be considered incomplete in the absence of that important link established by the *Vedanga — Jyotisha*. On the importance of *Jyotisha*, the author of Indian Ephemeris, S. Pillai, observes: "It may be said that *Varahamihira's* works *Brihat-Samhita and Panchasiddhantika* stand at the centre of a period of astronomy, whose span is of 3000 years, at one end of which we stand and at the other end the *Vedanga Jyotisha*. This shows how essential in the study of *Vedanga Jyotisha* for the entire history of Indian *Jyotisha Shastra*. It is in this period that the Indian calendar was perfected and established. Here again, for the first time, we get the mathematical formulas and the methods of working out the various components of Time.

On the basis of certain astronomical references of the *Vedanga Jyotisha* found in *Varahamihira's Panchasiddhantika,* Tilak and Jacobi declared that the *Vedanga Jyotisha* preceded *Varahamihira's* time by 1896 years, i.e., circa 1346 B.C. and that there was a still earlier period about 3500 B.C. (for the Vedas) when correct astronomical observations had been made in India. What is indicated in the *Jyotisha* is the main outline of the Indian calendar.

In spite of this, the *Jyotisha Almanac,* where the lunar year was linked with the *Nakshatra* and the solar systems, served the practical purpose of which it was devised.

The Indian system of the calendar, as recorded in the *Vedanga Jyotisha,* seems original and free from the Greecian influences. Dr. R. Shama Shastri observes:

"The system of the almanac described in the *Vedanga* Jyotisha is undoubtedly pre-Greecian and cannot be regarded to have been current later than the beginning of the Christian era when Greek astronomy is believed to have been introduced into India." It is therefore clear that the *Vedanga Jyotisha* is regarded as a very valuable record of the astronomic traditions regarding the Vedic calendar.

Epic Period

By the time of the Smrutis and the epics the development of *Jyotisha Shastra* was rapid, and a well-drawn system was established. The development in the field of astronomy was also praiseworthy. Beyond the earlier use of astrology merely for rituals and sacrificial matters the growing use of its application to human life and social needs is clearly manifest in this period. Further, both the branches became separated from each other and specialised independently. Thus, the planets, their *gati* (speed), as well as the constellations *(Nakshatras)* find constant mention in the Smrutis. Not only that, the chemical formations of planets and other characteristics seemed to have been well-gauged even without the use of the telescope. The good and evil influences were ascribed to the planets, their combinations the *Nakshatras*.

Later on, there is a mention of how to propitiate the planets and avoid the misfortunes by doing rituals and prayers. The wider use of astrology for determining the auspicious time for trade, travels, marriages, predictions of birth, etc, very fast. Even the astrologer was received with honour and given official position in the community as well as in the royal darbar.

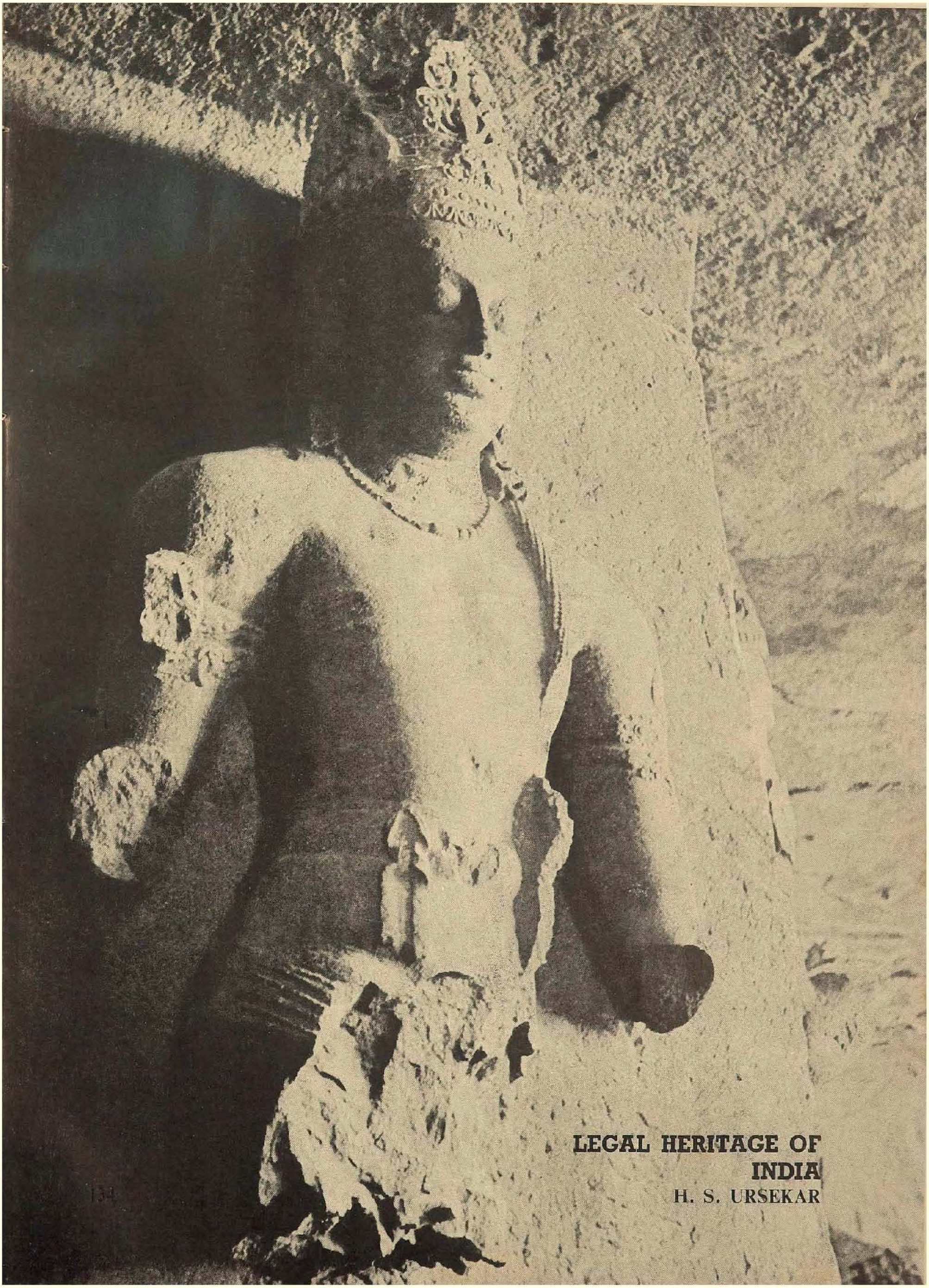
Siddhanta Period

Then comes the Jyotish Siddhant period in which the entire systems of astronomy *(Jyotirganit)* and astrology *(Jyotish Shastra)* were independently systematised and put into the form of treatises. Thus, the history of Indian *Jyotish Shastra,* as we know it today begins at the period of early Siddhantas, i.e., approx around 500-400 B.C. By the time of the Christian era, prominent astrologers and astronomers had compiled

a vast and comprehensive literature of Jyotish. Personalities like Parashar, Varahamihir, Garg, Bhaskaracharya and Ganesh Daivadnya had done valuable research to formulate an independent system of Indian astrology. By this time, there are traces of the influence of Greek, Chinese and Western systems on Indian thought. This will be clear from the following statement of Dr. Thibaut, author of *Jyotish Vedanga, Panchasiddhantika*:

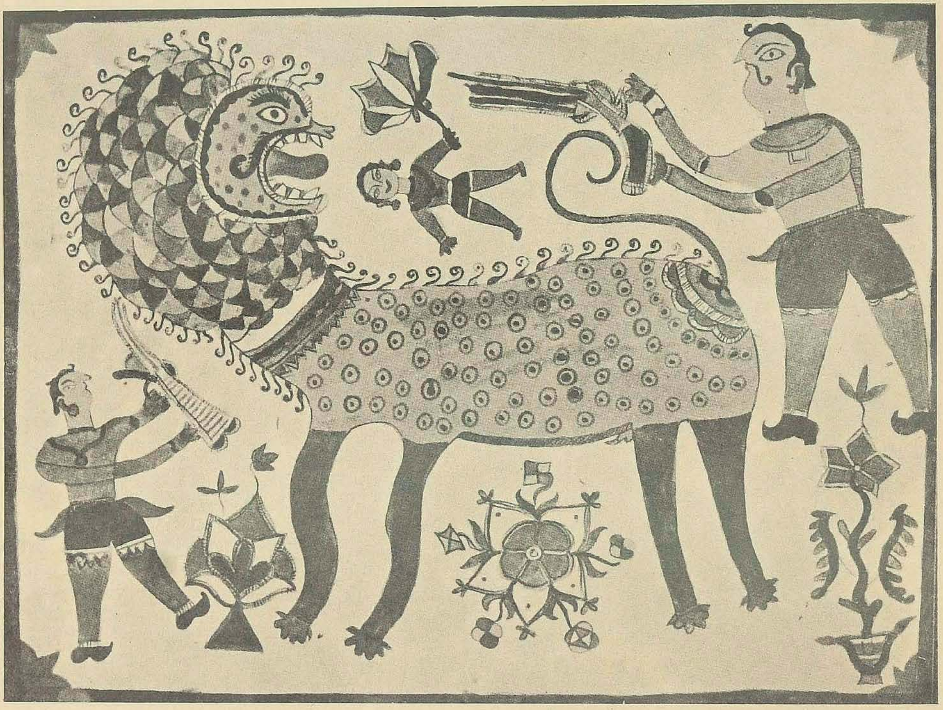
"The perfect Hindu system would in that case have to be characterized, not either as a mere loan from the Greeks, nor as a mere adaptation in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather as a combination and further development proceeding on partly original lines of elements of astronomical knowledge transmitted in a rude and detached condition from the West".

Moreover, the first two centuries of the Christian era indicate a period of rapid progress, new theories and advancement when the modern scientific treatises like the *Surya Siddhanta*, etc. were formulated and finally established.



LEGAL HERITAGE OF INDIA

H. S. URSEKAR



135. Madhubani Drawing
134. Shiva (King form) Elephanta, Bombay

Legal Heritage of India

H. S. Ursekar

'Law is the King of Kings': — Shatapatha Brahman

Legal Heritage of India is as old as Indian Civilization which according to professor Toynbee, a world authority, is at least five thousand years old. The age of the Rigveda which is a primary authority of law is also about Three Thousand years B.C.

The conventional concept of law rests on the three pillers of Rita, Dharma and Achar. Rita represents the cosmic moral principle which governs the Gods men and nature alike. Varuna is described as the guardian God of Rita. If one violates the moral law, Varuna punishes one with a deadly disease like dropsy. Law and truth are two sides of reality. Atharva Veda says that "Law is above the Gods, and is life of the Gods". Thus morality is the bed-rock of law. If a breach is committed of a moral rule it corresponds with the western juristic concept of things which are *mala in se,* (bad by themselves) as opposed to *mala prohibita* (things bad because the state has declared them to be so).

Dharma is not religion in the western sense of the term. It is tranlated either as a body of rules of conduct sustaining the social order, or as duty. I think Dharma stands for the privileges, duties and obligations of a man as a member of the society. Thus Dharma emphasies the element.

The third ingrediant Achar means the precedents crystillized into usages and customs. The behaviours in the past, the usages of the locality, caste guild and family were regarded as sacrosanct and were recognized as an essential formative element of law. Even at present the four Hindu Law Statutes passed in 1955-56 have saved the customary law. An instance in point would clarify the position. Under the Hindu Adoptions Act, 1956, the adopted child should not be more than 15 years of age, but this rule of law is also subject to custom to the contrary. Thus law is a combined product of ethical principles, Mundane obligations and time-honoured usages. There is nothing higher than law. "Law is truth. The whole world has truth as a soul, that is reality", says the Upanishad.

In the Vedic Age law was rooted in religion and the consensus of men learned in sacred law. The law is a mixture of *fas* religious law and *jus,* the civil law. Law has a divine origin. The breach of law met with four fold consequences. (A) Wergild i.e. compensation to be paid by the killer to the relatives of the victim. The purpose for which the compensation was paid was called Vaira Niryatana. Apastambha and Brihaspati prescribe a compensation of One thousand cows for killing a man from the fighting class. (B) Ostracism, banishing from the cast was another penal consequence. (C) Supernatural Wrath to be allayed by performing a Prayaschitta. (D) Punishment inflicted by court.

Originally law consisted of the injunctions laid down by the Vedas and the consensus of the erudite. But with the advancement of time, progress of political institutions and development of trade and commerce ordinances made by the king were considered as law. Kautilya in his epoch - making Arthashatra (300 B.C.) declared that law is a royal command enforced by sanction. Austin propounded the same theory in England known as the Imperative theory of law after about 2200 years thereafter.

According to the Dharmashastras there are four fountains of law; The Shruti i.e. the Vedas, the Dharmashastras, the conduct of the pions people and self satisfaction. (Manu II. 12) It is remarkable that Manu does not mention the royal edicts as a source of law. In fact Medhatithi (6 cen. A.D.) the earliest commentator of Manu declared roundly that a king cannot make a law over-riding Dharma.

The Vedas or the Shruti is the fundamental source of law. It is true that the Vedas do not present a systemic statement of law. They carry significant references indicating the origin and existance of vital institutions like marriage etc. The Surya Viwaha hymn in the X chapter of Rigveda refers to the institution of marriage. That is why the Supreme Court of India in the case of Yajnapurushadasji V|s. Mooldas (1966 AIR. S.C. 1119) in laying down the test as to who is a Hindu, has upheld Tilak's view. The court held that one who believes in the authority of the Vedas, in the multiplicity of pathways to God like the path of renunciation, knowledge, devotion or action and one who accepts that one can worship any God is a Hindu. The Vedas can be justly regarded as the - primodial source of law. The jurisprudence in the Vedic Age was nascent, creative and original.

Dharmashastra is the next source of law. They consist of two phases, The Dhamasutras and the Smritis.

The Dharmasutras is a body of legal literature written in pithy Sanskrit prose sentences laying down positive law in a concise form. This is believed to be the earliest appearance of formal statement of law in India. They were composed between 300 B.C. to 1000 B.C. They contain legal injunctions and customs. The foremost among the Dharmasutra writers are Gautam, Baudhayana, Apastambha Harita, Vasishtha and Vishnu. In Vasishtha we find the nucleus. of the law adoption. Apasthambha who hailed from South treats clearly and concisely the law of marriage, inheritance, and criminal wrongs. He compliments women by observing that "The knowledge which women possess is the completion of all study". Gautama sets forth the rules of Streedhana or women's property. Baudhayana is remarkable for allusions to the prevailing customs e.g. He refers to the Southern practice of marrying a daughter of maternal uncle and to the Northern customs of trading in arms and going to sea. The Dharmasutras are the stepping stones to the more systematized and elaborate codes of Manu and his successors Smriti writers. Their importance is not so much in their provisions today but in the concepts of jurisprudence reflected through them and the historical value of their contents including the references to usages and customs. Their aphoristic style is helpful in remembering them.

The metrical Smritis represent the other phase the Dharmashastras. The leading Smritikaras are Manu, Yajnavalkya, Narada, and Parashara. They were composed during a span of 2000 B.C. to 1000 A.D. The sages were jurists. Their authority was partly derived from the reverence for their learning, asceticism and integrity, and partly to the positions they laid down, in consonance with good conscience. Salmond a great modern jurist holds that the area of ownership extends to all types of rights in rem and in personem. A number of Smriti-writers remarkably anticipate this modern position.

The Smritis are systematic metrical codes dealing with codes of conduct for the four stages of human life *viz.* studenthood, householdership, retirement, and renunciation and also for the four Varnas or castes from birth to death. Even today the Hindu Marriage Act 1955 arms the wife of a person who has embraced Sanyas a right of divorce. Sanyas amounts to civil death. Here it must not be overlooked that caste was not acquired by birth but by talent and choice of occupation. Lord Krishna says in the Geeta that he created the varnas according to talent and occupation. Life. is a continuous Odyssey of obligations governed by rules of right con-

duct and hence the Smritis prescribed elaborate rules at every step and stage of life.

The Institutes of Manu (200 B.C.) is one of the most ancient and authoritative Smritis. Later writers of Dharmashastra echo him with some changes answering the felt neccessities of times. The code of Manu is divided into 12 chapters. The eighth chapter sets out the Civil and Criminal law under the heading of Eighteen titles of law. His arrangement is logical and systematic. This unique code is the corpus juris of ancient India. Manu emphasises the power and position of Danda i.e. sanction behind the Sovereign power and punishment to the wrong doer. In a penetrating passage he says "Danda rules the subjects and that Danda is the Dharma (Manu VII 18). It is through the fear of punishment that we can enjoy our rights, says the sage. (Manu VII. 15). Manu's code touches all the aspects of life. In merit it can stand comparison with the Egyptian code of Hammurabi or the Roman Twelve Tables of Justinian (6 Cen. A.D.) Even today it is not defunct. The Privy Council of England has observed that 'in administration of Hindu Law, Manu's laws of marriage, sonship, guardianship, debt, interest, partition, gift, succession are referred to today as of first importance whenever it is necessary to refer to first Principles' (14 Moore's Indian Appeals, P 570).

Manu is followed by Yajnavalkya of Mithala, Bihar (1st Cen. A.D.). His treatise is divided into three sections, duties, positive law, and expiation. The sage is more liberal regarding the rights of inheritance and holding of property by women, and the status of Shudras. By his times trade and commerce were flourishing and he gives elaborate provisions on the topics of partnership, joint business ventures, mortgages and hypothecations. The pith and substance of the law of partnership is stated as follows. "A number of trades carrying on a trade for profits shall share the profits according to their respective shares or according to the agreement between them." (Yaj II-259). The sage gives more elaborate rules about proof and procedures and is less harsh to the criminals.

Mitakshara (11 Cen. A.D.) is the epoch-making commentary by Vijnaneshwar on the code of Yajnayavalkya. The commentary written in lucid style is characterised by panetration into social problems and a liberal outlook. The premier school of Hindu Law is named as Mitakshara and it held the field throughout India, except in Bengal where the Dayabhaga a digest of law by Jimutvahan (12 Cen. A.D.) prevails. The contribution to the legal literature made by the author of Mitakshara is summarised by the Privy Council as follows. "He explains the meaning of recondite passages, supplies omissions and reconciles discripencies by frequent references to other expounders of law." Budha Singh V|s. Laltu Singh (1915) 42 Indian appeals, 208. Besides the Smriti literature there is a string of authoritative commentaries and disciplined digests.

Conduct of the good peoples (Sadachara) is another native spring of law. In absence of a rule of Shruti, Smriti, custom there is a final appeal to one's concience or self-satisfaction. This source is parallel to the Western terminology of "Justice, Equity and Good conscience".

King's edicts (Rajasthana) was also an important spring of law. Apart from Kautilya, Narad (200 A.D.) is the first Smritikara to record and recognize the principle that the king-made laws override any rule of law laid down by a Smriti. According to Dr. Jolly, Narad was from Nepal. Historically speaking the Mauryan monarchs (3rd Cen. B.C.) were the first kings to lay down the king-made law.

The consideration of the sources of law raises the question of sanction of law. According to Manu the king is created by the God to protect the subject with the help of Danda — i.e. punishment. According to Apastambha a king who fails to punish the guilty incurs sin. Thus kingship is of divine origin and is clothed with divine obligation of protecting the subjects. Same is the view of Yajnavalkya and others. A break is given to this divine sanction of law by Narad who says that, "As the king has obtained Lordship he has to be obeyed. Polity depends on him". It is clear therefore that both the divine and the temporal powers furnish sanction for law.

The ancient structure of law can be considered under five heads :-

A) International Law, B) Civil Law, C) Criminal Law, D) Evidence, E) Adjectivial law.

International Law in the sense of a body of rules and conventions observed by nations is hardly available in an exclusive treatise. But there are studied references to the principles to be followed by a head of a state in his relationship with another king, It is known as Rajadharma i.e. Royal duties. Kautilya in his Arthashastra gives elaborate rules of Rajadharma. The Dharmashastras also contain rules of Rajadharma. A king is urged to wage a war of conquest but is provided that the conquerer must show clemency to the conquered. Further it is enjoined that the original laws and customs of the subjugated countries should be retained. The victor-king should hand over the captured territory to

the victimking, after he accepts the suzeranity of the conqueror. A remarkable contribution of the Indians in the fields of the international law is propounding of the Raj Mandal theory. It is to the effect that a neighbouring king is always as enemy, disposed to the king of the adjacent country, while the king beyond it is on friendly terms with the king. This shows the perfect perception of the authors into international relationship. Truth and peace were the key words of international association.

The positive law was classified under eighteen titles of law. They consisted of (1) Nonpayment of debts, (2) deposits (3) sale without title, (4) Partnership, (5) taking back forcibly what is given, (6) nonpayment of wages, (7) Breach of contract, (8) Return of goods purchased if disapproved, (9) Dispute between master and servant, (10) Boundry disputes, (11) Assault and defamation, (12) Theft, (13) Robbery, (14) Molestation of women, (15) Duties of men and women, (16) Partition, (17) Gambling, (18) Bird fighting. These topics of law originally expounded by Kautilya are followed by Manu and other law-givers. These topics cover criminal offences like assault, theft etc. These subject matters of positive law indicate an advanced stage of civilisation even in the era of Arthashastra. Trade and commerce were flourishing and so also carriage of goods by sea (Manu VIII-157). The juristic perceptions of these ancients were so fine that Manu lays down that a ship owner is not liable for damage caused by an act of God. (VIII-409). Besides these topics the Dharmashastras provide elaborately rules governing the field of personal law on the topics like marriage, inheritance, succession, women's right to property. adoption, guardianship, minority, and other features.

Turning from the civil to the criminal law equally detailed provisions are found made by the Dharmashastra. The concept of crime originated in the violation of a religious rule. It was followed by performance of some Prayaschitta or Expiation Yajnayavalkya has a complete part devoted to Prayaschitta. A wrong was originally conceived as a sin. In the Rigveda the God Varuna, upholder of the Rita or moral law punished the delinquent with dropsy. Thus the juxtaposition of crime and punishment is a fundamental phenomenon. Crime is called Akarya. Many wrongs were sins and entailed secular as well as religious sanctions. Crime was divided into Mahapatakas, major sins and upapatakas, minor ones. Paithinasi a great jurist observed that "expiation should be done by a wrong doer and that he should be punished according to his means". Punishment was of four kinds, gentle admonition, severe reproof, fine and corporal punishment. Punishment used to be very severe. For arson punishment of burning alive was prescribed. Cutting of fingers and hands or feet of thieves and pick-pockets was common. Capital punishment was in force for man slaughter. Idea of probation was also there. Manu (VIII 129) lays down the punishments of admonition or severe reproof to offenders. This shows the recognition of the reformative aspects of punishment. The deterrent approach of punishment was also not lacking. In case of habitual offenders Manu (VIII — 135), prescribes that all the four types of punishment should be pressed into service to curb an incorrigible criminal. One of the remarkable features may be pointed out. It was the duty of the police officer to recover the stolen property. One Dharmashastrakar has prescribed that if the police fail to retrieve the stolen property the king should restore the value thereof from his treasury. Modern jurists have now begun to think in terms of crime and compensation. A crime has a double aspect, punitive *qua* the offender and compensatory *qua* the victim. The cherished ideal of crime — free society was also not slow to come. Manu says that a king ruling a state free from the offences of theft, adultery, defamation, housebreaking and assault goes to heaven.

Turning to the point of proof we find that the law of evidence was well advanced and can stand comparison with modern rules of evidence. Evidence was of three kinds, direct, circumstantial, and hear-say. There were four means of proof. Oral testimony, documents, possession and ordeals. The limit of adverse possession was 20 years unlike the modern twelve years span. In absence of the first three means of proof there was the supernatural proof obtained by undergoing an ordeal (Divya) of water, fire, oil etc. This was clearly an appeal to the unseen. Even today under the Special Oaths Act a party can take a special oath by lifting the flower from an idol etc. Witnesses were administered oath before giving evidence, unlike the German system of post-testimony oath. Perjury was severely punished. Demeanour of the witnesses was vital in appreciating the varacity of a witness. About appreciation of evidence what Gautama says is universally true. According to him "Reasoning is the means of arriving at the truth". Yajnavalkya provides for elaborate rules of the law of evidence.

The adjuctival branch of law covering procedure and pleadings in court was also elaborate. Katyayana has given detailed court procedure which accords with the principles of natural justice or fair trial. The other side was to be given a hearing. Court was to function openly.

The judge should be imparial. A fact has got to be established by cogent evidence of truthful witnesses. Appeal was of right. Appeal was provided to the king for the aggrieved party against the judgement of the lower court known as (Jaya-patra) (Yaj. II - 30).

The positive laws were based on sound principles of legislation. Manu has stated (VIII-41,46) that the king should lay down a law after giving consideration to the custom of castes, locality, guilds of merchants and families and that the law should not contain anything contrary to the customs and usages. Another principle of legislation is that the practices followed by the learned and pious people should also form part of law.

Law and justice are inseparable concommitants. Law is the milk, while justice is the cream. The king was to administer justice according to law. Dharmashastras say that the judge should be impartial and hold the balance evenly. About meeting out of punishment there is an excellent guideline provided by Kautilya in his Arthashastra. Says he "A king (including a judge), who is too severe in inflicting punishment is hated by people, a king who is too lenient is ignored while a king who inflicts appropriate punishment on the offender is adored by people."

Administering justice and punishing the guilty were the two supreme functions of the King. 'The Vajasanayi Samhita' contains a coronation hymn which gives a deep glimpse into Kingship. It says, "If thou shalt be a ruler, then, from this day judge the strong and the weak with equal justice; resolve on doing good incessantly to the public, and protect thy country from all calamities". Gautama says, "His (the King's) duty is the administration of justice. There, the Vedas, the institutions of the sacred law, the Angas and the Puranas are the authority. The Laws of the countries, castes, and families, which are not opposed to the sacred records are also authority. Cultivators, traders, moneylenders and artisans, have the authority to lay down rules for their respective class : Having learned the (state of) affairs from those who are matchless in authority (to speak) he shall give the legal decision. Reasoning is a means for arriving at the truth. Coming to a conclusion through that, he shall decide properly. In case of conflict, he shall learn the truth from men old in learning, and give his decision accordingly". These rules of Gautama may be called as the Magna Carta of Administration of Justice. Manu (VIII-12) perceives the administration of justice as Dharma incarnate by representing that when justice is administered the dart of Adharma of falsehood by which dharma is pierced is taken out from the body of Dharma. Yajnayavalkya (I-359, 360) declares that impartial administration of justice yields the same results as the solemn Vedic sacrifice do.

Thus administration of justice was held to be a very sacred duty of the ruler. The ancient Hindu philosphers based their theories of law not on divine will, but on divine reason. This divine reason is not necessarily inscrutable and arbitrary, and is not, therefore, antagonistic to any effort to found law and right upon a principle or order intelligibly consistent and permanent. Justice is identical with divine reason, with the divine nature and essence, which being eternal and immutable, excludes all idea of arbitrainess. The king was deemed to be the fountain of justice and it was his personal duty to administer justice as stated by Manasollas. The king used to sit personally in court and administer justice with the help of Sabhyas (Jury). There was a sort of jury assisting the King. The Nyaya Sabha is said to have, according to Brhaspati, ten limbs (angas) *vz.* the King, the Chief Judge appointed by him, the Sabhyas, Smriti, ganaka (accountant), lekhaka, (scribe), gold, fire, water and a purush (baliff). The sabhyas examine the dispute, Smriti Dharmashastra lays down the rule of decision, the success of one party or the other and the punishment, gold and fire are required for taking oaths, the water is for men to drink, the ganaka counts the wealth or subject matter of dispute, the scribe writes down the pleadings, depositions and the decision, the purusha summons the defendant and the witness and the guards the complainant and the defendant when they have furnished no surety (for appearance). It is further stated that of these ten limbs the King is the head and the judge is the mouth.

In ancient India when Kingdoms used to be generally small in size it was possible for the king, to dispense justice personally but in course of time with the expansion of the area of the kingdoms, the King could not attend to all the cases personally. Hence he had to delegate the judicial powers to the judges. According to Manu (VIII-I) a king should dispense justice with the assistance of Sabhyas. The King may delegate his judicial authority to a Court consisting of a learned Brahmin assisted by three Brahmin Sabhyas who should be also well versed in law. (Manu VIII-9-10). Katyayana says that if no erudite Brahmins are available a Kshatriya or a Vaishya well-served in law may be appointed.

In the Mahabharata, Shanti Parva, we find the King acting as a Judge assisted by the Nyaya Sabha. The King presides over the court surrounded by eight ministers. The system of ministers

goes back to the Ramayana and it was pressed into service by Shivaji Maharaj in Maharashtra about 300 years ago. In the Mahabharata we find a jury of 36 persons assisting the King, 4 Brahmins, 8 Kshatriyas, 21 Vaishyas and 3 Shurdas. The Vaishya jurymen were in majority as they were experts in commercial litigation which was ample. The Mahabharata says that it was the duty of the king to punish the guilty. The punishments should be commensurate with the crime, rich were to be fined, while the poor were to be punished corporally as they were unable to pay fine. There used to be various types of punishments, Vadha, meaning death including corporal punishment, fine, imprisonment, banishment, cutting of limbs and branding of marks on the body.

In the Mahabharata times there used to be no torture for extracting confessions, but at the time of Mrichchhakatikam about 2000 years ago we find the judge asking the accused Charudatta to confess, on pain of being whipped. There used to be no stamp duty or court fee which was introduced by the Britishers for the first time in India. However, the state revenues were secured because if the plaintiff won, the losing defendant had to pay twice the amount of the claim as fine to the King. If on the other hand the plaintiff lost he had to pay double the claim amount to the state as fine. Justice used to be administered in open court where citizens could be present. The judges were not allowed to have any contact with the litigants. The king was also forbidden from fomenting litigation.

The judge was to be very consciencious in discharging his judicial functions, as none should suffer for someone else's crime. The qualifications, qualities and duties of an ideal judge are expounded in verse 5 of Act IX of Mrichchhakatikam — a classic drama by King Shudraka — *viz.* "A good judge should be learned in law and must have the gift of the gab. He must be impartial, incorrupt and must gracefully conduct the proceedings without losing his temper. His principal duty is to separate the chaff of falsehood from the grain of truth in order to protect the weak and punish the wicked." Narada says, 'Just as a physician takes out from the body an iron dart by means of surgical instruments, so a judge should extricate from a case the deceit or falsehood'.

The purpose of all legal procedure (Vyavahara) is to find out the truth acording to Katyayana and to do justice. Vasishtha prescribes one day's fast for the king and three days' fast for the priests when the king lets off those that deserve punishment and the Krushra penance for the priests when the king punishes the innocent. This illustrates how the king was also subordinate to law.

There was little difference between civil and criminal proceedings. In the 18 titles of law as set out by Manu and Yajnyavalkya, both civil and criminal topics are all mixed up. The distiction between civil and criminal proceedings is found in the question of Nibandhankara quoted by Saraswati Vilasa who says that in the Vyavaharapadas like Dayavibhaga the relief claimed in something to be given or rendered (deya) by one party to the other, while in Vakparushya, Dandaparushya Sahasa, Gambling and betting the principle relief is in the form of danda (punishment). The two key principles in the administration of law and justice everywhere are 'Keep your promises' and 'Cause injury (himsa) to no one'. Therefore we find Brahaspati stating that law suits are of two kinds accordingly as they originate in (demands about) wealth or in injuries. In the Smriti period the distinction in the teminology used in connection with civil and criminal courts does not seem to obtain as in our times. A court was looked upon as a temple of justice and that is why the court house used to face the east, and the court hall used to be decorated with flowers and garlands. The court used to be situated near the Royal palace on the eastern side according to Brahaspati. Thus it seems that the king sitting with his Privy Council consisting of his ministers and members of the jury derived from four castes was a corporate affair enjoined to find out the truth and to do justice with faith in God. This tradition continued till it was brushed aside by the Mogals, but in the Vijayanagar Kingdom this system was found functioning.

I think in modern times Manu is more sinned against than sinning and hence I attempt here a reconsideration of Manu's contribution. It seems a web of misconeptions has gathered round this prime lawgiver consisting of warps of uninformed prejudices and woofs of unwarranted aspersions.

As a social thinker Manu knows that family is the fundamental building block of the community. The married status and the legitimacy of children are the basic features of the family structure and they are essential for the better sustenance of the social framework.

Manu recognised eight forms of marriages, Brahma, Daiva, Aarsha, Prajapatya, Asura, Gandharva, Rakshasa, and Paishacha.

The gift of a daughter, clothed only with a single robe to a man learned in the Vedas, whom

her father voluntarily invites and respectfully receives, is the nuptial rite called Brahma (III-27). The Daiva form is a gift of a daughter whom her father has decked in gay attire gives to the officiating priest who performs the act of religion (III-28). When the father gives his daughter away, after having received from the bridegroom one pair of cows, or two pairs, for uses prescribed by law, that marriage is termed Aarsha (III-29). The nuptial rite called Prajapatya is when the father gives away his daughter with due honour, saying distinctly, "May both of you perform together your civil and religious duties (III-30)" When the bridegroom, having given as much wealth as he can afford to the bride's father and paternal kinsmen, and to the damsel herself, takes her voluntarily as his bride, that marriage is named Asura (III-31). The reciprocal connection of a youth and a damsel, with mutual desire, is the marriage denominated Gandharva, contracted for the purpose of amorous embraces, and proceeding from sensual inclinations (III-32). The seizure of a maiden by force from her house, while she weeps and calls for help, after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in battle, or wounded, and their houses broken into, is the marriage Rakshasa (III-33). When the lover secretly embraces the damsel, either sleeping or flushed with strong liquor, or disordered in her intellect, that sinful marriage, called Paishacha, is the eighth and the basest (III-34).

Now it would be seen that Manu recognizes even the sale of a bride in Asura form of marriage and use of violence, force and fraud in the Rakshasa and Paishacha forms of marriage. The reason is that Manu knew that these malpractices were current in those times, and they had to be legalised, otherwise the brides in such marriages would not acquire the status of a wife and would be merely concubines of the man concerned. The modern law recognises only three of these eight types of marriages *viz* Brahma, Asura and Gandharva.

Marriage bond is the sustaining power of a family unit and hence the legal status of husband and wife is essential. Manu is not only a Socio-Political writer but he is also basically a lawyer and a jurist who knows that law is an effective instrument of building up a stable society. Manu had another reason to recognise these various forms of marriages because these different types of marriages were in vogue in those days. Further Manu was aware that the bride was an innocent victim and hence she should not be made to suffer for the faults of others or the weakness of her parental family.

Manu's recognition to the Gandharva form of marriage concurs with the modern concept of marriage which is generally the culmination of a "boy meets girl" formula. Besides being a jurist, Manu was a great psychologist who knew well that such love stricken young persons cannot be persuaded to see sense and abandon their puerile vow to get married and hence he thought it fit to regularise such types of clandestine marriages brought about by the young over the head of the old. Dushyanta's secret marriage with Shakuntala is in the Gandharva form of marriage as depicted by Kalidasa in his play. The marriage called Civil marriage as solemnized under the Special Marriage Act, 1954 can be looked upon as a Gandharva marriage.

The right of the girl to choose her own life-partner is also conferred by this ancient law-giver. He says: Three years let a damsel wait, though she be marriageable, but, after that term, let her choose for herself a bridegroom of equal rank (IX-90). Thus the right to have Swayamvara is granted by Manu to the maiden.

The right of Swayamvara is certainly a right of freedom of choice and it should be deemed as a sine qua non of women's independence. It is pointed out by many that Manu is anti women's independence" (IX-3). Now this verse is the basis quoted in support: "Father protects her in childhood; husband protects her in youth; sons protect her in old age; a woman is never fit for independance (IX, 3). Now this verse is the basis of the right of a woman to be maintained throughout her life. This right of maintenance is given effect to in modern legislation also in the provisions of the Hindu Maintenance and Guardianship Act, 1956 and section 125, Criminal procedure Code, 1973. In fact the verse saying, "Where females are honoured, there deities are to stay" (III-56) shows that Manu had the highest respect for womanhood.

The next pillar of family is the son. Manu has recognised twelve kinds of sons. The Aurasa (legitimate son), Kshetraja (son begotten to the wife of a deceased man), Datrima (son given), Kritrima (Son made), Gadhaja (born secretly, Apaviddha (rejected), Kanina (son of an unmarried girl), Sahodha (son received with bride), Krita (bought), Paunarbhava (the son of a woman twice married), Parasava (cadaverous), Swayamdatta (one who offers himself) IX-159 to 177).

Manu as a jurist knows that illegitimacy of children is bad for the child, family and the community. Whatever may be the cricumstances responsible for the conception of a child, the son is always an innocent entity, and the

sins of the begetters should not visit the children. Besides, illegitimacy of a son raises a number of problems for the society and the family regarding the status, right of inheritance, marriage, adoption, guardianship, maintenance and other allied issues of personal law.

The recognition of so many kinds of sons by Manu can be traced to the historical circumstances that for a Hindu, a son is the Highest desideratum on this side of the world and on the other, too. It is believed that the sonless have no place in heaven. Further, the continuation of the family name and offering of pious oblations to the manes can be carried effectively only by a son. Unless the father had a son, who would perform the Shraddha ceremony in order to rehabilitate the souls of the departed ancestors in heaven? Besides, it is well known that ancestor worship is one of the reasons for creation of religion and hence sonship has a religious basis.

Thus, speaking both socially and religiously, the legitimation of a son is essential. He recognised the son of a virgin (Kanina). Pandavas come under this category. He also recognised a foundling son, Apaviddha, for instance, Karna. Further Manu recognises a Swayamdatta son. In modern law a son cannot give himself in adoption to another person. In case of an orphan in an orphanage under section 9 of the Hindu Adoption Act, 1956 it is the officebearer of the Society authorised by the Court who alone can give a child in adoption.

Manu has not only recognised these sons but he says that out of them the first six are kinsmen and heirs (IX-158). And the remaining six are only Kinsmen entitled to offering religious oblations to manes but not heirs of the father (IX-153). Leaving the first legitimate son Aurasa, who alone fully inherits father's property, all the children are entitled to maintenance (IX-163). Thus it will be seen that Manu was a law-giver of liberal mind and great vision.

Further surprisingly enough we find Manu recognising the right of private defence to a citizen against a wrong-doer (VIII-351). This principle of the right of the private defence is enshrined in Sections 96 to 106 of the Indian Penal Code.

Manu comes down with a heavy hand on gamblers and says that it is the duty of a king to stop gambling and punish the gamblers (IX-225). Similarly this great law-giver provides that a king should banish dealers in spirituous liquors from the realm (IX-225).

A unique modern feature found in Manu is that he recommends that decoys should be employed by the King in order to detect and catch arch culprists (IX-261). In case of international — relationship a King should press into service the spies to gather intelligence (IX-256).

Manu enjoins that a King should consult his ministers always (VII-56). It is necessary for a king to have a council of eight ministers (VIII-54). This is certainly a democratic element, in recognising the collective wisdom of the community as represented by ministers and the cabinet system. King Dasharatha had such a council of ministers.

Manu is, it will be seen not only modern but is universal in his approach and understanding. He is like Aristotale, who is ruling the Western intellectual world for more than last — 2000 years.

An outstanding feature of the Indian legal heritage is the science of Purvamimamsa dealing with principles of construction of legal text, as similarly found in modern times in the books of Maxwell and others. Jaimini's Purvamimsa Sutras is a leading authority in this area. Rules to resolve the conflict of laws were also not unknown. e.g. in case of conflict between the Arthashastra and the Dharmashastra the latter was to prevail. Further in the event of a divergence between a Vedic Text and rule of Dharmashastra the former will govern the field. There are elaborate rules of interpretation of legal provisions. Many of them are known as the Mimausa Maxims. One of the rules of construction is that the same word shall be construed in the same sense in a particular context. Another meaningful principle governing the effect of legal injunctions was the classification of the legal texts into mandatory and recommendatory provisions. For example, in construeing the requisites of a valid marriage as given by Yajnavalkya the courts adopted the rules of visible consequences and invisible effects of the violation of these requisites. The breach of the ban to marry a girl from the same — Gotra is held to vitiate the marriage as the effects of the breach of this ingrediant are not visible. That is why a Sagotra marriage was held to be void until marriages of men and women belonging to the same gotra were validated in 1955 by the Hindu Marriage Act.

This brings us to the consideration of some salient features of the ancient law.

The first feature which strikes one is the antiquity of the indigenous law. The Indian ancient law is one of the oldest systems of law and can be compared with other ancient systems, of law to wit, the Babylonian law, the Egyutian law and the Roman law. This system of law in India

can be said to be of at least 5000 years old. A great authority Mayne in his book 'Hindu Law and Usage' in the preface has rightly observed "Hindu law has the oldest pedigree of any known system of jurisprudence and even now it shows no sign of decrepitude. At this age, it governs races of men extending from Kashmere to Cape Comorin who agree in nothing else except their submission to it. No time or trouble can be wasted which is spent in investigating the origin and — development of such a system and the causes of its influence".

Another remarkable peculiarity of the ancient Indian law is its originality. It is not influenced or moulded by any other legal system. The opinion of Sherman in his book 'Roman Law in Modern World' Vol. 1 is that "the — influence of Babylonian law travelled beyond the borders of Babylon — eastward to the law of Hindustan specially the famous code of Manu" is evidently erroneous and unfounded. The Indian law is a product of the soil as established by Professor Derrett D.C. L. of the London University who has contributed substantially to the right appreciation of the Ancient Indian Law.

The Ancient Indian Law is dynamic and progressive. It has adjusted from time to time since the time of the Dharmasutras and liberalism was inducted in it from precedent to precedent, as Tenyson's freedom broadened down from precedent to precedent. A women is given an equal share with man. A daughter can be adopted like a son. Remarriage is now permitted. Divorce can be obtained for a mere asking of it as it is permissable by mutual consent. The partial codification of some area of Hindu Law has brought in uniformity, certainty and clarity. Every writer of Dharmashastra shows sings of progressive thinking and liberalism over his predecessor.

Supremacy of law is another cardinal characteristic of the Indian Legal Heritage. Law was a king of kings and even the king was subject to law. In England a king can do no wrong, but in India a king can be guilty of wrong. Rajatarangani of Kalhan one of the few Sanskrit books on History records the examples of unjust tyrant kings who lost their kingdom. Brahaspati and Manu clearly state that a king is subordinate to the paramountacy of law.

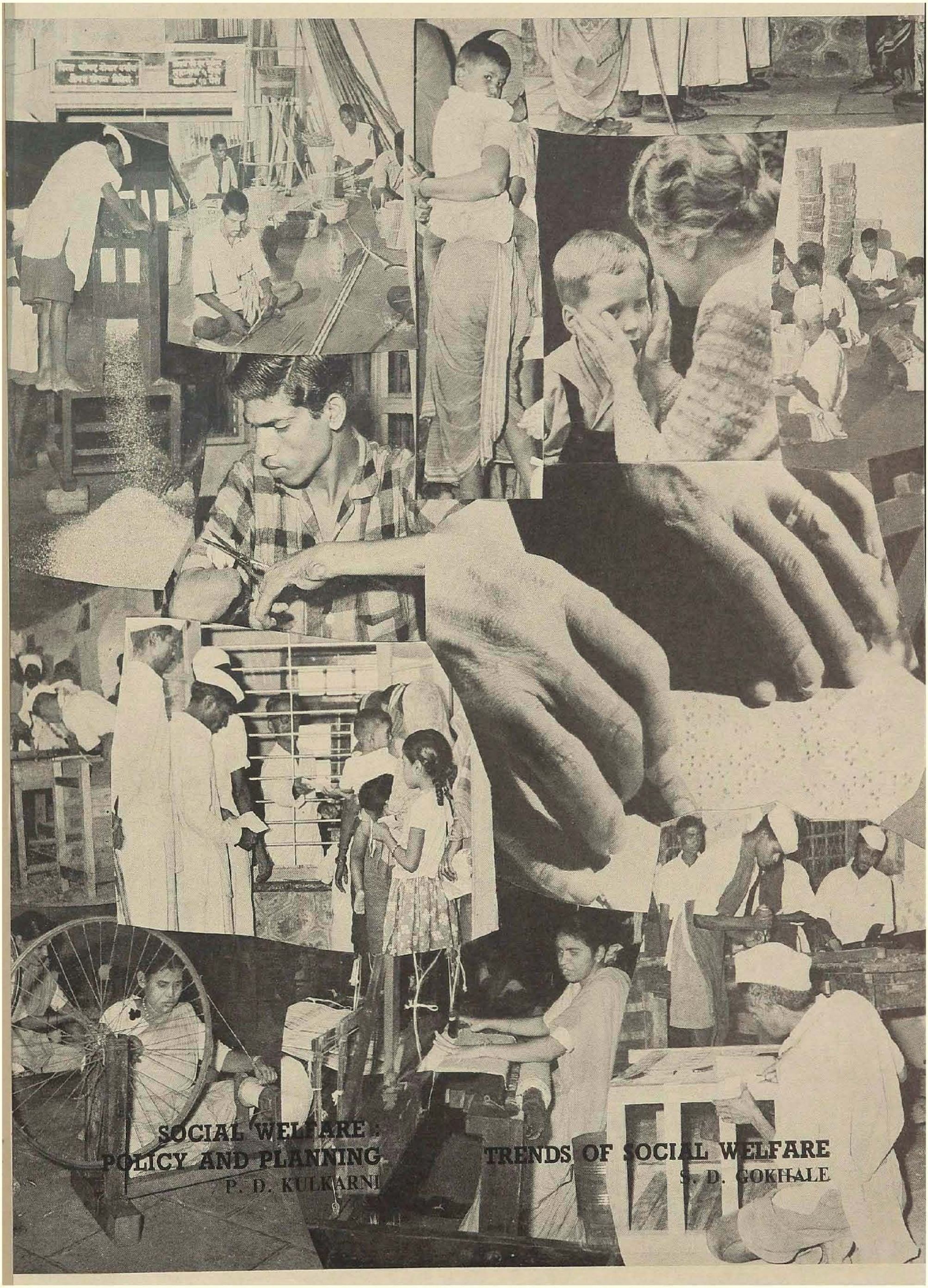
Rule of law was the order of the day. The operation of law penetrated to all walks of life and governed a man's conduct from birth to death. The codes in ancient India were held in high esteem and judges were highly respected and richly paid. According to Kautilya the salary of the Chief Justice was forty eight thousand panas per annum and a puisne judge was paid a salary of twelve thousand panas per annum.

It is interesting to note that even in modern times the influence of the code of Manu is seen in the legal systems of, apart from India, Jawa, Bali, Sumatra, Combodia, Thailand, Sri Lanka and other eastern regions.

It is true that India came under the Muslim rule and the British rule but even then the personal law as reflected in the Dharmashastra held the field. But it is noteworthy that the Indians still believe in the basic principles of Dharmashstra that the law protects the law abiding persons (Manu VIII-157) and generally an Indian is therefore found to be a law-abiding and a god-fearing citizen.

It would be fitting to conclude this review to trace with the words of a great jurist Lord Wright.

> "With the ever-growing expansion of Indian legal thought there is bound to be greater interplay between legal minds in India and elsewhere in the world of Anglo Sexon Jurisprudence. As judges and lawyers in India react freely to English decisions so may, in course of time, the English courts recognise Indian Contributions to legal thought and principles."


SOCIAL WELFARE :
POLICY AND PLANNING
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TRENDS OF SOCIAL WELFARE
S. D. GOKHALE

Trends of Social Welfare

S. D. Gokhale

Asian Conference of Social Welfare held in Bangkok in 1980 while highlighting the existing needs maintained, "while there will always be special groups within society which require remedial services such as the mentally and the physically disabled, and those unsettled, by unpredictable family or national emergencies, special emphasis should be placed on preventive and developmental policies and programmes in the region". Since the bulk of population comprises children, youth and women, it is necessary to intensify efforts to develop these population groups as an important resources of social and national development.

Taking a bird's eye view of the Indian backdrop one finds nearly 57 percent of the population in India is under 25 years of age. Over 19 percent which amounts to almost one fifth i.e. over 100 million of the population are between 15 and 24 years. Children under 15 years of age are 40 percent of the total population. Some 30 to 50 percent of the total child population lives below the poverty line and do not have access to basic social services.[1] They are mostly children of landless peasants, slum dwellers and the unemployed.

When India turned to Industrialization, the economic basis of Indian society did not change without affecting the social institutions and moral customs of the people. With the coming of industry and of western ideas, the ancient mastery of the Indian male has been disturbed. Industrialization defers the age of marriage and requires the emancipation of women. Child marriage has been legally stopped. '*Sati*'[2] has disappeared and the incidence of remarriage of widows has increased. Polygamy is not allowed and women have been drawn out of *Purdah*[3] in industrial cities. The economically fortunate ones take up vocations, shoulder to shoulder with men; what is more, they hold important political offices.

As opposed to this, the vast majority of them still suffer from pervasive discrimination with regard to access to education and work opportunities. They are generally victimized by existing social and cultural discrimination, including marriage and community life. This attitude retards the participation of women in development which is a matter of grave concern. Recognizing the need for women's full participation, a trend towards liberalisation of divorce

procedures and greater consideration for the rights of women gained momentum during the 1970s !

The weakening of family ties and the extended family in industrialized countries has coincided with a rapid ageing of population. The factors of longevity and reduced fertility are changing the proportion of people over 65 from 9-13 percent to 14 percent thus increasing the dependency ratio.

Urbanization, industrialization and social mobility have yet to break the co-existence of generations in a single house-hold in India. Children continue to assume responsibility for the material and psychological well-being of their aged parents. In the Indian State of Tamilnadu, for instance, 75 percent of the aged live with their children. However, another study conducted in the Indian State of Haryana suggests that industrialization is rapidly transforming the traditional family system.[4]

Rapid urbanization has been a significant demographic phenomenon during the last three decades and it is expected that the rate will be higher in the 1980.[5] This continues to result in the proliferation of slums and squatter colonies and lack of community facilities and services for them. Poverty continues to be one of the most trying factors where there is serious lack of resources to solve the problems of the poor in slums. Belonging to a family which is marginal in many ways and to a community which has all the characteristics of under-development, such as persistent low productivity, lack of resources, lack of education, presence of superstition, ignorance, and inaction seems to be the cause of many social evils.[6]

In the rural areas unemployment and under-employment are on the increase and the gross number of landless labourers and small farmers is steadily growing. Moreover, farmers' income is till extremely low[7].

The draft outline of the First Five Year Plan followed soon after the Constitution came into force. It is significant that the very first sentence of the 'Outline' reads as follows : "Planning is essentially a way of organising and utilizing resources of maximum advantage in the terms of defined social need'.[8]

Implicit in this statement is the need for a social policy for guiding all planning endeavour.

It is difficult to envisage development of social policy without the supportive context provided in the Constitution.

The Directive Principles of State Policy contain a number of articles relating to social development. Article 37 specifically lays down that even though the Directive Principles are not enforceable by any court, the principles nonetheless are fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the State to apply these principles in making laws. These Directive Principles cover a wide range of Subjects, some of which have been recently incorporated to give a wide base for policy and action. They cover the right to an adequate means of livelihood; equal pay for equal work for both men and women; provision of opportunities and facilities to children to develop and their protection against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment; provision of free legal aid; right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement and in other cases of undeserved want; provision of just and human conditions of work and maternity relief; provision of a living wage for workers; free and compulsory education for all children until the age of 14 years; promotion of education and economic interests of weaker sections of the people and, in particular, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and protecting them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation; raising the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and improvement of public health etc.

The Constitution of India very pointedly assures to secure for all its citizens :

JUSTICE social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and work;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all;

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the Nation.

"Part II of the Constitution provides for fundamental rights, which include Equality before law (Article 14), Abolition of Untouchability (Article 17). Prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour (Article 23) which is an abundent evidence of the State Policy. The Directive Principles of the State Policy interalia mention the responsibility of the State to secure a social order for the promotion of welfare of the people (Article 38). Promotion of the welfare of the economic interest of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other weaker sections (Article 46), duty of the State to raise the level of nutrition, standard of living and to improve public health. Article 47 also speaks of raising the level of nutrition and the improvement of public health. The article also states that the State shall endevour to bring about prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs which are injurious to health".

There are specific provisions relating to children in Part III dealing with fundamental rights which mention prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth (Article 15). Prohibition of employment of children.

Article 45 provides for provision for free and compulsory education for children and Article 47 states

the duty of the state to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living.

The Constitution also provides specific sections relating to women which include prohibition of discrimination, equality of opportunities and prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour. There is a provision for maternity leave also.

National Policy for Children

India is one of the few countries to have a comprehensive National Policy for Children. The National Policy, adopted in August 1974, is designed to provide the framework for an integrated approach to child development. The measures contemplated in the National Policy for Children are to cover all children by a comprehensive health programme; provide nutrition to children to remove the dificiencies in their diet; provide free and compulsory education upto the age of 14 years; provide special assistance to all children belonging to the weaker section of society and those who are socially handicapped; protect children against neglect, cruelty and exploitation; provide facilities for special treatment, education, rehabilitation and care of physically handicapped etc. The National Children's Board with the Prime Minister as Chairman, oversees the implementation of the National Policy for Children. States have set up their own Children's Boards for continuous planning, review and coordination of all essential services.

Policy for Women

A National Plan of Action for the Welfare and development of women has been formulated covering different facets of their development and participation. To keep a watch on the implementation of policies and programmes for women, a National Committee on Women under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister and with the Minister of Social Welfare as Vice-Chairman, has been constituted. The Ministry of Social Welfare is the nodal point in the Government of India on all matters relating to women including coordination.

Policy for Elderly

With increasing life expectancy, the number of aged people is increasing. According to the 1971 Census, 3.36 percent of the population was 65 years and over as compared to only 1.98 percent in 1881.

In the Indian family system, the care of the aged is the responsibility of children and other close kin. Although this responsibility is, by and large discharged, force of circumstances sometime leaves old people without any means of support specially since only a very small percentage (including those employed in Government or Public sector agencies) is currently covered pension, gratuity etc.

For a scientific assessment of the nature and dimensions of the problems of the elderly, a number of research studies have been sponsored to provide the factual data for policy making, planning and programming.

Population Policy :

From Family Planning to Family Welfare

The Government of India in 1976 formulated its first National Policy to provide the framework and the operational instruments for population control so that the pace of socio-economic development could be accelerated. It recognises the role of other important factors connected with the problem such as education, economic development, removal of poverty etc., and suggests a set of related measures to tackle the problem, such as raising the age of marriage, greater attention to girls' education, importance of population education etc. A new policy is now being formulated keeping in view the current needs and priorities. Recognising the linkage of family planning with availibility of social services, the Sixth Plan Framework document suggests the building up of the programme "as part of an integrated package consisting of measures in health care, water supply, sanitation, infant nutrition, care for the aged, education and extention"

Education Policy

A National Policy on Education was adopted in 1968. Education of girls has shown significant progress. India has also made important strides in development of education in science, technology, engineering, agriculture, medicine and other fields. The main features of educational policy and development that are receiving emphasis are universalisation of elementary education; improvement in quality of education; expansion of educational facilities; non-formal education; development of pre-school education; equalisation of opportunities for educational development; grant of scholarships, mid-day meals, free uniforms, free text books and other incentives to students particularly from under-privileged sections of society; adult education; and development of scientific, professional and technical education. Training of teachers, curriculum development, education technology, research and delivery systems are also receiving attention.

Policy for Backward Classes

The Constitution of India provides a number of safe-guards to protect and promote the interests of the backward classes with a view to bring them to the level of the rest of the population. The Five Year Plans have made special allocations for the development of backward classes which are additive to the benefits of general development. The main programmes in the backward classes sector relate to scholarships, book grants and other incentives to facilitate their educational development; land allotment, subsidies, grants and other forms of assistance in cash and kind for improving their economic condition and

providing them with an adequate means of livelihood; house sites and housing assistance; reservation of employment opportunities in public services; reservation as well relaxation in criteria for admissions to institutions of educational, technical and professional training; pre-examination coaching facilities. A strategy is currently being adopted to ensure the flow of benefits from the general sectors of development to the backward classes and preparation of tribal sub-plans and special component plans. Special central assistance is being provided for the tribal sub-plans.

Ecology and Environment

It is proposed to give ecological and environmental factors greater consideration in planning and implementation. The document giving the framework of the Sixth Five Year Plan 1980-85 indicates one of the Plan objectives as bringing about harmony between the short and the long term goals of development by promoting the protection and improvement of ecological and environmental assets.[9]

Criminal Justice System

Crime prevention is being designed on a long term basis as an integral part of the development strategy. With a continual rise in the demographic scale, crime rate has also been on the increase. As a result, certain trends that have come to notice are, increasing involvement of the juveniles with crime and deliquency, rise in female criminality and a new and paradoxical form of crime — white collar crime — which includes economic offences like black-marketing, smuggling, adulteration of food and drugs, misuse of position by public servants, misappropriation of public property and funds and traficking in licences and permits etc.

Incidence of crime has been on the increase with educated, unemployed youth. With a great impetus given to the spread of education, the number of student population increased from 23.5 million in 1951 to 95 million in 1977. The employment opportunities on the other hand lagged far behind. This has created a new and sensitive problem of serious dimensions.

A total of 1,192,277 cognizable crimes under the Indian Penal Code were recorded during 1974, showing an increase of 10.7% over the figure of 1973. This includes the crimes committed by Juvenlies. There was an overall increase of 57.1% incognziable crimes during the decade (1964-1974). The increase in population for the same period was 25.2%.[10]

In addition to unemployment there are factors like over-crowding slums, inadequate health and medical care, delinquency and social tensions.

If the expectations of increasing population are to be met with, there is no time to lose. With the growth of economy and the resultant improvement in living standards, it is also necessary to restore and invigorate such social institutions as the family and foster ethical values among the young. Though Indian society has shown remarkable resilience and adaptive capacity throughout history, to retain the crux of its healthy traits and values, the criminogenic potential of some of the social tension may yet remain to be countermanded.

The work of the Law Commission and the work of the Police Commission is crystallising the policies in order to bring about preventation of crime and treat of offenders.

The planners in India aim at reconciling seemingly conflicting requirements of improved human well-being and economic growth. In fact it is belived that the human factor is perhaps the most important element in sustaining economic growth, and its development must be conceived not only for the people but with the people. The best laid national plans are likely to fail if the people do not feel deeply involved in their formulation and have a sense of commitment towards their implementations. If the people are convinced that their future and the future of their children is at stake, perhaps, a better motivation for participation in planning and implementation could be obtained.

Although plans and policies in various sectors of development are oriented towards different specific objectives and are embodied in a variety of programmes which are identified as developmental functions, these functions have for long, been related merely to change individual's circumstances and for providing care and material assistance to its disadvantaged and vulnerable members such as the children, the disabled and the refugees. However, in India these functions are related to the mass of people who are affected by the consequences of change. The social welfare intervention which is remedial may be supplementary under certain circumstances and in a wide variety of contexts. It may be for a short-term or extended over a long term period. It may be limited to a few individuals or it may involve people on a large scale to off-set the impact of the weakening of traditional forms of family patterns. This remedial form of welfare may step in, when traditional social organization is breaking down and the institutions in a modern society are taking time to be established. However, social welfare policies and programmes will have to extend far beyond their remedial roles of amelioration of distress and suffering, to undertake developmental objectives geared towards upgrading the quality of life.

Today, social welfare policies are being formulated in a completely different context. The concepts of social policy and national development are in a constant process of evolution and review. This evolutionary process opens up new opportunities to examine social welfare in relation to the factors which previously were not within the purview of welfare, such as the

need for an equitable distribution of services, development of human resources and meeting the challenge of change.

In a highly developed society, social welfare services tend to become the responsibility of different professions and services. In other words, it acquires specialization. But inspite of specialization, social welfare services cannot develop in isolation. Contempletion on these lines, leads to the study of some of the issues that have emerged as the main concern in developing social welfare policies and programmes and are expressed in the following questions:

a. Is social welfare a static term or is it a mobile counter toward development?
b. Is social welfare an off-shoot of, or a reflection of "The Establishment"?
c. Does social welfare aim at reaching this total community or only the needy and the disabled?
d. How do the limitations of legislative framework for social welfare effect the programmes?
e. How to obtain balanced regional development?
f. What is the indigenous contribution of development of social work technology?

One of the most vital question to be considered is to determine whether social welfare is a static concept or is it a concept that changes with the ideological growth. For years together social welfare has been treated as a static concept, catering to the requirements of the pathological sectors of society such as the destitute, the neglected, the delinquents or the needy groups such as the schedule castes and tribes. This philosophy is based on servising the people whose needs are more apparent, vocal and urgent. It is also based on the theory of percolation in planning. According to this social welfare comes into operation, like a fire brigade only when the emergency situation is noticed. It also assumes that once a certain sector develops, its progress will automatically percolate to the lowest of the low is society. Both these theories have failed and the role of social welfare in total development has now being redefined.

Social Welfare by nature has a telescopic charcter. As soon as one service is provided to meet a certain demand, another demand emerges. Once a primary school is provided for, a pressing need for secondary school follows. When women take up employment the the need arises for running day-care centres and creches.

Another important question is whether the social policies have to be in tune with the so called 'establishment'? If welfare policies are developed without the participation of people, it is very likely that they may remain merely as the off-shoot of the establishment.

Indian Philosophy starts its discourse with the questions "Who am I? Where from I Come?" "Social Welfare philosophy has to raise the basic question 'Where and to whom do I belong?" This takes us straight to the point of social infrastructure and links social welfare to total well-being. Very often criticism has been levelled against social welfare, that it is directly in conflict with the philosophy of development. A number of instances can be cited.

1. In the field of rehabilitation the present establishment adopts a model of rehabilitation-planning, which has been borrowed from western society. Rehabilitation Centres are developed in the urban metropolitans with fancy buildings, costly equipment and specialised staff. These centres are becoming islands of affluence amidst the sea of poverty and have no relationship whatsoever with the rural disabled.

2. Take the instance of Nutrition: Should the country use its resources to produce exportable chocolates and cheese rather than providing much required milk to the needy children in the slums and the rural areas? Do we have a moral right to earn foreign exchange at the cost of children? The multi-national company produces milk powder and baby foods through its associates in India and advertises it. Ultimately this may go against the practice of breast feeding.

3. The Advertising media are using women as bait for the consumer products. Is it in keeping with the status of women? The picture of a nude has nothing to do with the article that is being advertised. Such practices do not elevate the status of women but on the contrary reduce her to a cheaper and perverted sex symbol.

These are some of the glaring contradictions and conflicts that are beckoning for attention. In India, there is a growing awareness that social welfare has to transform itself into an instrument of change in addition to being an instrument of providing the 'fire brigade service'. With this new perspective, social welfare in India has to look after the total well-being of the community and not just the selected population of the disabled and the needy.

In the early years, Indian welfare planners worked under two major dogmas — institutionalisation and legislation. Institutions and legislation provided a panacea for all social evils.

A number of studies were undertaken such as the study made by the Indian Council of Social Welfare on the 'Impact of Institutionalisation on Children'. The results of this study have indicated that after a

certain period institutionalisation starts giving diminishing returns.

Legislation certainly provides important policy context but it cannot be the only instrument to bring about social change. This is clearly brought out by the U. N. Study of Juvenile Justice Systems. Now there is a tendency towards identification of non-institutional programmes outside the scope of legislation.

At one stage, planners were bewildered by the delicate process of planning for a balance between rural and urban needs. There were separate programmes for the urban and rural areas. Now there is a well defined process to identify commonality among client groups whether they belong to rural or urban sector. The purpose of developing a 'cluster model' in rural development, is to identify a group which has a common growth centre, common infrastructure and common catchment area for the impact of development. Therefore the planners are exploring the possibility of integrated regional development and trying to create a balance between the rural and urban sectors.

a. The Emerging Trends

The programmes as envisaged in the sixth plan, have a greater developmental orientation. The plan indicates a definite shift from sectoral to total development, from institutional to non-instituional approach, from urban to rural emphasis and shows a clear preference for decentralized democracy. It is essential at this stage to take cognizance of some of the assumptions behind planning for development. The emerging trends recognize that:

1. Social development is not merely a side-effect but in many ways a pre-condition to economic growth.
2. There exists a need to identify correctly and codify accurately the important social variables of the developmental process.
3. Social justice is a moral imperative for dynamics of development.
4. Mobilization of popular participation in formulation and implementation of integrated social policy is a must.
5. The target of development is the poverty sector especially urban slum dwellers, landless labour, unorganised rural poor and among them the vulnerable groups like scheduled castes and tribes. To serve the lowest of the low is a new welfare indication.
6. The theory of percolation in development is now discarded and planning from below, is desired.

b. Social Welfare Outside the Legal and Economic Context

For a long time it was believed that law was the most important instrument of social change. Now it is felt that legal context has many limitations and social welfare programmes can be effectively developed outside the legal context. Similarly the concept of developing welfare programmes on the support of grants-in-aid and charity doles is being given up. There is therefore, a well-defined need to co-ordinate the functions of the Planning Commission and the Law Commission in order to implement the Directive Principles of the Constitution.

c. New Indicator of Development i.e. Reaching the Lowest of the Low in Society

Development of social indicators is a new area of work in India. The indicators that are being developed have to be policy-oriented, clearly defined and sensitive to social change. "The social indicators are designed to portrary the status of trends in social conditions that are or are likely to become, the subject of public action or concern". Social Planning and development of indicators is a comparatively new discipline. However planning in India has realised the need to develop indicators in (a) Population (b) Housing (c) Health and Nutrition (d) Culture (e) Employment and Security and (f) Welfare. The emphasis is now on developing 'output' rather than 'input indicators' for planning.

Antyodaya Programmes

A novel method called 'Antyodaya' has recently been adopted by several State Governments to ameliorate the lot of the poor. Five poorest families are identified in each village and they are allotted land and implements, house sites and financial aid for subsidiary occupations like animal husbandry, dairying, handicrafts, rural industries, khadi etc. Some of them are absorbed in government service and the old and invalid among them are given old age and disability pensions. In this way, the identified families are enabled to rise above the poverty line and to become self-reliant.

Bhoodan Movement

It would not be out of context here to mention briefly about Bhoodan Movement. The idea of the Bhoodan (Gift of Land) was inspired by the voluntary donation of land by a landlord at a prayer meeting of Acharya Vinoba Bhave at Pochampali Village. The idea, in course of time, blossomed into a philosophy and a programme. Its main features were as follows:

1. Social Justice can be secured not by violence but only through non-violent means.
2. Land is a free gift of nature and it belongs to all. The land owners in a spirit of sharing and generosity, should voluntarily donate one-sixth of their lands to the landless.
3. The goal of the movement was to collect 50 million acres of land to provide on an average

five acres of land to each of the 10 million landless households.

By 1970 one-tenth of the target was collected. Major part of the land was either not fit for cultivation or was under litigation. Those who got land did not have the means to cultivate it. It was realised that the problem of redistribution of land was complex since the number of claimants for land was much larger than the land available for distribution. Moreover, the movement did not receive adequate support from the Government or the voluntary sectors for strengthening itself. To the farmer rich or poor, land is everything. Therefore pursuading him to donate land to the community marks the greatest change in social and economic value systems. To bring about this change in a peaceful manner was in a way a great contribution of this movement.

However, a proper evaluation of the movement is possible only against a wider background. The movement created an awareness of the problem of the landless labourers and to that extent facilitated the implementation of land reform. It provided the philosophical basis for such a legislation. It initiated a new line of thinking on the problem.

The story of development in India thus is a story of contrast and contradiction, struggle and re-dedication, a search for a new self. It is regrettable that our development has not matched with the aspirations of the people but is much more regrettable that it has not matched with their capabilities either. At the same time however, it is a story of millions who are determined to march on, committed to the idealism of a socialist democracy. Nothing is more fascinating than being a part and parcel of this story.

1. Social welfare in India, Second Asian & Pacific Ministerial Conference on Social Welfare & Social Development, 9-15 October 1980, Bangkok. Ministry of Social Welfare, Government of India, New Delhi.
2. Practice of wife immolating herself on the funeral pyre of her husband.
3. A tradition according to which women do not bare their face or person before men except for immediate family members. Older members of the parent's-in-law family are also not allowed to see the women.
4. Ageing International, Vol. II No. 4 (1975), p. 6.
5. See Appendix A for Rural & Urban Population.
6. See Appendix A for Statistics on People living below the poverty line.
7. See Appendix A for unemployment situation in rural and urban sectors.
8. Government of India, The First Five Year Plan — A draft outline.
9. To implement these policies various schemes and services have been established and statistics of beneficiaries maintained. See, Social Welfare in India", Second Asian & Pacific Ministerial Conference on Social Welfare & Social Development 9-15 October 1980, Bangkok, Ministry of Social Welfare, Government of India, New Delhi.
10. Crime in India, 1974, Government of India, Bureau of Police Research & Development, Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi.
11. Statement by Dr. Norman Acton, Secretary General of Rehabilitation International at Winnipeg, Canada, 1980.
12. Key-note address to ICSW Regional Conference in Australia, 1980.
13. Report on Status of Women, By Seminar 1978.
14. "Impact of Institutions on Children" Research Report by Indian Council of Social Welfare, 1975.
15. "Juvenile Justice System"; A study by U. N. Social Defence Research Institute, Rome, 1978.
16. Dr. W. L. Kendall, from a paper submitted to ESCAP Conference of Social Development in 1972.
17. Antyodaya means — development of the lowliest of the low.

Social Welfare : Policy & Planning

P. D. Kulkarni

Introduction

Like many other countries in the Asian and Pacific region, India too has a long tradition of social welfare. The fountainsprings of social welfare in India can be traced mainly to two cultural sources, namely, religious and secular (humanitarian). Religion enjoined that helping the less fortunate was a means of spiritual advancement. This inspired individuals to acts of charity and philanthropy according to each one's economic capacity. Organised welfare services were made available under three different auspices. Liberal and progressive rulers like Emperor Ashoka in the third century B. C. (and others in various historical periods) organised institutional services and occasionally specific cadres of welfare workers to man them. Secondly, religious missions like the *Buddhist muths* or Hindu Asharams also organised services for the destitutes, the indegent or others in distress. Public spirited citizens especially the richer ones also organised civic amenities like drinking water, travellers lodges and emergency relief measures. Special trusts and endowments were set up during the Moghul period to sponsor, support or provide ameliorative services to provide food and nutrition, medical aid and educational aids to the poor. Under the British rule, Christian Missions rendered pioneering services in setting up residential care institutions for the protection and welfare of social dropouts. About the same time, i.e. in first half of the Twentieth century, India witnessed a strong social reform movement in order to eradicate some of the traditional social evils and to usher in modern attitudinal and institutional reforms.

Yet when the British rule in India ended in 1947, the socio-economic conditions in the country were highly unsatisfactory. Expection of life at birth which is a fairly reliable single index of the quality of life was only 32 years. Infant mortality was as high as 146 per 1000 live births and the level of literacy was just about 15 per cent. The few social services, health, education and welfare which existed were mostly concentrated in and around the urban areas leaving the rural and tribal areas almost totally neglected. The advent of Gandhi on the socio-political scene of India towards the latter half of the second decade of the twentieth century made the country seriously aware of the plight of village populations and the need to make a determined and massive effort to improve their working and living conditions. He led a strong movement against the social discrimination of certain castes and communities and

generally in favour of a better deal to all the oppressed sections of the society.

Directives of Policy

The Constitution of India, as drawn up after the attainment of political independence contains some very progressive welfare directives. This was so mainly because of two major influences. The first was the national history of social reform culminating in the movement led by Gandhi. Internationally, the concept of a welfare State was very much in the air because of the bold and massive schemes launched by European nations as part of their post-war reconstruction. Part IV of the Constitution provides 'Directive Principles of States Policy'. They are non-justiciable but all the same intended to be fundamental in the governance of the country. Some of the more salient of these directives cover the right to work, equal pay for equal work both for women and men; protection of children against neglect and exploitation, public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement, and other cases of 'undeserved want'; just and humane conditions of work together with a living wage for workers; free and compulsory education for all children until the age of 14 years, and protection and promotion of the interests of 'the weaker sections of the people', particularly those who suffered under the double handicap of poverty and social disability because of the socio-cultural history.

Planned Development

In order to translate the Directive principles of State Policy into action, India adopted planned social and economic development as the main instrument. Accordingly, India has launched a series of five-year plans since the early Fifties. With some inevitable interruptions or pauses, the series has continued with the Sixth Plan currently in operation. In all these plans raising the standards of living of the people as judged by a rise in the G.N.P. through diversification and modernisation of the economy has been the main thrust. However, social services representing a broad spectrum of human-oriented programmes like education, nutrition, health, housing, rural community development, promotion of employment, welfare of labour, development of the so-called 'backward classes' and social welfare for groups in need of special care have also been an integral part of each plan. In terms of financial outlays the amount earmarked for social services has been increased from Rs. 5,320 million in the First Plan to Rs. 56,900 million in the Fifth Plan. However, the priority assigned to social services as a whole in relation to the totality of economic programmes like agriculture, industry, etc. has varied from time to time. But generally, social services were assigned a lower priority in the earlier Plans. From the Fourth Plan onwards, the recognised importance of social services even for economic growth started being more purposefully reflected in the financial outlays and the monitoring attention paid to these services. From the economic point of view, social services are now being emphasised as part of the strategy of human resource development hand in hand with development of natural and material resources. From the political viewpoint, social services have come to be stressed as the means of doing social justice to the human element in development, particularly the weaker sections among them for they are as much the main agents as the potential beneficiaries of development.

Social Policy

India's developmental and welfare goals and their achievement has to be judged in the context of a large population base of about 660 million, more than 40 per cent of which are below the poverty line (which itself is low enough). Indian policymakers have realised that for all determined developmental efforts to show positive results the rate of growth of population has to be first brought down significantly. Massive national campaigns backed up by substantial financial outlays have been launched with occasional setbacks and renewed but modified methods and techniques. Among the other salient features of India's social policy, as it has evolved over the years, is to ensure distributive justice side by side with higher GNP, promotion of employment and improved per capita income, a massive programme of integrated rural development, protection and promotion of the interests of those sections of population who suffered from double disability of poverty and social prejudices as hangover of the historical past. Another important feature of India's social policy is the minimum needs programme for the poorest rural and urban sections of the population and comprises primary education, adult (non-formal) education, rural water supply, rural medical and health services, supplementary nutrition especially for children during their pre-school years, village roads and rural electrification, house sites for landless agricultural labour and environmental improvement of urban slums.

Development orientation

Social welfare has been one of the small but significant components of social services in India's plan. The concept of social welfare in India has progressed from the conventional approach of custodial care and ameliorative services to a purposeful developmental orientation. This is characterised by emphasizing the preventive as against the curative approach to social problems. In the process, the local isolated effort has now been dovetailed into a national framework giving a macro dimension to the total welfare effort. In addition to the traditional client groups of the handicapped sections of the community, social welfare has now turned its attention to such vital though vulnerable sections of the population such as child-

ren, youth and women who together represent the most important developmental potential of the nation. In a developing country like India, a good proportion of the children, youth and women are those who inspite of being physically and mentally normal lack the ordinary opportunities of growth. The focus of development welfare, therefore, is to coordinate with the existing social services in such a manner as to direct their benefits towards these client groups and to supplement them in accordance with the specific needs of the groups in question. The other feature of developmental orientation to social welfare has been to introduce the qualified techniques of research, planning, monitoring and evaluation so that the social welfare sector could justify its needs and show its performance in the same technical language which planners use to determine inter se priorities between competing sectors. It has so happened though that some of the new developmental oriented social welfare services have not necessarily been located in the ministries and departments of social welfare. Some of them have been assigned to other ministries and departments like — education, health, labour, rural development, etc. In these circumstances, the ministries and departments of social welfare have more often to play the role more of advocacy and followup rather than of direct administration. They virtually become the conscience of the government in the matter of implementing social and welfare policies.

The following are some of the major programmes of social welfare in India.

Child Development

Children upto the age of 14 constitute about 2|5ths of India's population. While culturally children are brought up with great love and affection by most Indian families, those belonging to the poorer families suffer from inadequate care and even the minimum wherewithal for wholesome growth. Poverty of the family, stresses and strains caused by rapid economic growth and inadequate social services are responsible for quite a high incidence of mal-nutrition, infant mortality, morbidity and deprivation.

In the light of these needs and problems, India adopted a National Policy for Children in August 1974. This policy lays down the framework of an integrated approach to child development. It enjoins upon the State to provide a modern and extensive maternity and child health service especially in the rural areas, supplementary nutrition to children both in the pre-school and the school-going age groups; free and compulsory education upto the age of 14, special assistance to children belonging to the weaker sections of society, appropriate legislative and institutional action for the protection of children against neglect, cruelty and exploitation and also care, treatment education and rehabilitation of the handicapped children. A National Children's Board has been set up under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister to watch and direct the implementation of the National Policy for Children. The States have likewise set up their own Boards for similar purpose.

The International Year of the Child (1979) was utilised for making the community more conscious of its responsibility towards children and to launch a series of new programme or to expand the existing ones depending upon the assessed needs and available resources. The IYC was looked upon as an opportunity for initiating vital programmes needed for children on a continuing basis.

In order to make this possible a permanent National Children's Fund has been set up during the IYC. The nucleus of the fund was established with an initial donation of a sum of Rs. 0.10 million from the Ministry of Social Welfare. Contributions to the fund have been invited from semi-government corporate bodies, public sector undertakings, commercial companies and charitable organisations and from sale of IYC seals.

Integrated Child Development Services : (ICDS)

The most important single programme devised for the development and welfare of children is a package of certain basic services converging together mainly on children below six years of age in the chosen project areas. Although these services are provided at and through ICDS centres, the objective is to reach out to the family, especially the mothers, of the target group of children so as to consolidate and sustain the wholesome developmental influence generated at the centre. These services include prenatal and postnatal care of expectant and nursing mothers, health checkup, immunization, supplementary nutrition, health education, non-formal pre-school education and referral services for those in need of special care. Two hundred such projects were in operation in the 1979-80 with a phased programme of expansion provided in the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Care of destitute children

In the year 1974-75, the Government of India sponsored a scheme for the protection and care of the abandoned, neglected, orphan and homeless children to supplement the institutional services already existing in many States under the Children Acts. This scheme is implemented through voluntary organisations which are given grants-in-aid upto 90 per cent of admissible expenditure in order to provide both residential and community services to destitute children in the rural and urban areas. Until the year 1979-80, more than 40,000 children were being looked after under the scheme. Considering that in a country of India's size, there are many more such children in need of care and protection, the Sixth Five-Year Plan provides for a further expansion of the scheme.

Women's Programmes

The main thrust of the programme for women's development in India has been to enable them socially and economically to enjoy the rights and opportunities which are already provided in the Indian Constitution and in the relevant legislation under it. The Government of India had appointed a Committee on the Status of Women for a thorough study of the various needs and problems of Indian women. During the International Women's Year (1975) and since steps have been taken to follow up implementation of the major recommendations made by the Committee. Accordingly, a National Plan of Action for the development and welfare of women has been formulated. A National Committee on Women with the Prime Minister as the Chairperson and the Minister of Social Welfare as the Vice Chairperson has been constituted. The Ministry of Social Welfare serves as the coordinating ministry for all matters pertaining to women's programme

Some of the major programmes for women include functional literacy and condensed courses for adult women, industrial cooperatives, hotels for working women and training centres for the rehabilitation of destitute women and their dependent children. The main objectives of these programmes are — first to provide the minimum necessary education necessary to make indigent women eligible for a variety of vocational and professional training and subsequent employment. This is again a new trend as part of providing developmental orientation to social welfare programme. Under this the emphasis is on enabling the client groups to become economically self-reliant rather than remain on charity for a lifetime.

Rehabilitation of the Handicapped

There is a sizeable programme for the protection, care, education, training and rehabilitation of the physically and mentally handicapped individuals. Residential institutions for their care and education run by voluntary organisations have been in existence almost from the beginning of organised welfare effort. In recent years however, the policy of the Government has been to give grants-in-aid to voluntary organisations in order to modernise and diversify the care and after-care programmes for complete socio-economic rehabilitation of the client groups. In order to provide the necessary research and training and technical assistance to these field agencies, the Government is setting up national institutes for each category of the physically handicapped namely — the visually handicapped, the hearing handicapped and the orthopaedically handicapped. Likewise, in order to supplement manufacture in the private sector of aids and appliances for handicapped individuals, the Government of India has established an Artificial Limbs Manufacturing Corporation of India in order to make available orthotics and prosthetics at moderate costs. Legislative and administrative measures have also been taken to reserve in public undertakings a certain percentage of employment for various categories of the handicapped. The Life Insurance Corporation of India has devised a special group-insurance scheme for the education of mentally retarded children, as a signatory to the United Nations Resolution declaring 1981 as the International Year of Disabled Persons, India has drawn up a National Plan of Action for improvement and expansion of various services for the prevention and treatment of the handicapped. Recently some State Governments have introduced a pension scheme for handicapped individuals from poor families in the memory of the late Sanjay Gandhi, a young member of parliament who died in an air-crash in June 1980.

India is also taking a cognizance of the growing proportion of the aged people in the Indian population. The challenge is to devise a programme of care and welfare of the aged which will avoid the undesirable effects of institutionalisation on the one hand and yet harmonize with the changing family values and structure.

Social Defence

One of the sub-sectors of social welfare has been recognised rather late as part of developmental effort in social welfare. The problem arose out of the administrative jurisdiction as established historically in respect of correctional services. In many States probation and aftercare services and institutions for adolescent and young offenders have been under the ministries or departments of Home Affairs. The Home ministries have been traditionally regarded as guardians of law and order, internal peace and security. Likewise, the entire prison system has been under the Home ministries and departments. Although these institutions and services had to cope with the problems of social tension and disorganisation following in the wake of rapid economic growth, they were not recognised as developmental services. Thus, no financial outlays were provided for them in the five year plans. They found it difficult, therefore, even to maintain the quality of services at the original level. With the inevitable overcrowding, these services and institutions were made to serve the needs of double and triple the numbers than the ones for which they were originally built. Fortunately, they are now recognised as developmental services and as such included in the five year plans alongwith other development and welfare services.

The entire package of social defence programmes consists of: (i) the Children Acts (although exceptionally these have been mostly under the departments of social welfare) dealing with the protection, care and treatment not only for delinquent children but also for neglected, victimised and uncontrollable children;

(ii) the Probation of Offenders Acts provide for the

release of offenders on probation with specially qualified probation officers to supervise them; (iii) the Suppresssion of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act to protect, rescue and rehabilitate women and girls, especially the minor ones from the clutches of commercial vice. A series of institutions for rehabilitation of girls rescued from moral danger are provided under the Act. Similarly, there is legislation to prevent begging in public places and to apprehend beggars for institutional custody and subsequent rehabilitation as productive citizens in the community. However, because of the hangover of the social tradition of indiscriminate charity, inadequacy of legislative text and insufficiency of institutional facilities, it has not been possible to cope with the problem of beggary with any appreciable success.

The Government of India has set up a National Institute of Social Defence for research on problems of delinquency, crime, correctional services, etc.

Some Lessons

Reviewing the total perspective of social welfare in India, it would seem that over the years it has enlarged and diversified well beyond what was envisaged in the Constitution. This is evident from the fact that against the contents of social welfare sector in five year plans, there is no comparable provision in the Union Concurrent or State lists provided for substantive allocation of subject in the schedules of Constitution. As for policy, although it is enjoined upon the State to be primarily and ultimately responsible for social welfare, in practice the State has played more of the role of a sponsor|promotor rather than of actual administrator of welfare services. It was expected that voluntary welfare agencies should be the principal agencies for organisation and administration of welfare programmes. This was intended partly because of the long tradition of voluntary welfare effort in India. It is believed that the human touch so essential for welfare services is better imparted through voluntary agencies than through a departmental bureaucracy. Secondly, given insufficient resources of a developing country like India the policymakers and planners never could spare enough for social welfare. It was expected that community resources mobilized through voluntary effort should supplement the token budgetary provisions made for purposes of giving grants-in-aid to voluntary organisations. This was sought to be administered through innovative agencies, like the Central and State Social Welfare Boards of National Institute for Public Cooperation were also set up to aid the process of people's participation and voluntary action in development and welfare. (More recently, second wing has been added to this institution to promote research and training in child development). The emphasis in Government policy has been on associating non-officials particularly women social workers in working partnership with officials of social service departments for joint planning and implementation for social welfare programmes. Over the years, the network of the Central Social Welfare Board got routinized and became usually distinguishable from departmental structure. Also it seems to have reached the stage when its performance needs to be assessed to judge whether its central purpose of strengthening voluntary welfare effort has succeeded as expected.

Role of voluntary Agencies

India's social welfare policy has been based on several assumptions. Recognising the role of voluntary agencies in the promotion of social welfare is accordingly predicated on several positive assumptions. Historically voluntary welfare agencies have performed pioneering role in identifying emerging community needs and in responding to them in terms of programmes and services. They were also noted for the spontaneity of response free from protracted procedures and routinized formalities for which bureaucracies around the world are infamous. These agencies enjoyed the will and the freedom to experiment with newer methods and techniques and of course provided the all important human touch regarded as essential for any welfare work. Because of these attributes the voluntary agencies were close to the community and enjoyed their full trust and support.

Over the years, the picture has changed considerably. It seems that most of these attributes were the result of the smallness of size and the local character of most of these voluntary agencies. As these agencies became larger, with more formalized constitutions the redtape of bureaucracies inevitably found its way into the working procedures of these agencies as well. With the socialist policies of Indian government many of the richer classes like the princes and landlords have been dispossessed of their ancestral wealth. With all their idiosyncracies, many amongst them were philanthropic patrons of voluntary welfare effort. That support is no longer available. Instead, voluntary agencies are now required to approach a much larger number of people for raising the same or even lesser amount for their recurring and non-recurring expenses which with soaring costs have gone up for the same or even lower level or quality of programmes. The general mass of community although still inclined to support good voluntary effort has little or no economic capacity to contribute because of the existence of pervading mass poverty and rising cost of living. Thus voluntary agencies of today have tended to become largely dependent upon government grants which in themselves are somewhat meagre. This has resulted into dwindling, if not drying up, of the fountainsprings of voluntary effort. It would therefore seem that vigorous, full-blooded voluntary effort is perhaps the function of a large and prosperous middle class which is yet to emerge in India.

However, voluntary agencies have been able to make their contribution at a different level and in a new direction. Apart from direct field service, some

of the new voluntary organisations functioning like a forum or federation at the national level have performed rather well in advocacy of leading social issues. Indian Council of Social Welfare, Indian Council of Child Welfare, All India Women's Conference, Council for Social Development, Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development, etc. are some of the leading examples of this new kind of voluntary agency which has influenced social welfare policies and plans during the last three decades or so. For instance, the very establishment of ministries and departments of Social Welfare at the Union and State level was the result of a powerful lobby built up by the Indian Council of Social Welfare. Indian Council of Child Welfare was largely responsible for presuading the government and helping it to formulate the National Policy for Children. Likewise, other organisations have played a significant role in bringing about legislative measures and administrative actions in their respective spheres of influence.

Planning Problems

When a developing country adopts development planning as the chief instrument of national development, it starts, almost by definition, with a certain handicap. Non-availability of comprehensive and reliable data is one of the major handicaps for any precise, rational planning. This difficulty is much more accentuated in the matter of social problems and welfare needs. India was no exception in this regard. Although a tremendous boost has been given during the last thirty years to research studies on social problems and welfare services, social welfare sector has not yet caught up with the scientific and economic sectors of national planning in matters of qualification. There is greater awareness now of the need to evolve sophisticated techniques of research and planning in social welfare. Likewise, in the matter of monitoring and evaluation, social welfare sector is trying to adopt or evolve refined techniques and indicators in order to improve its working efficiency and assess its impact through social indicators.

Social Welfare planners and administrators quickly realised that although they were getting smaller allocation than the welfare needs warranted, they were not able to spend even those limited allocations fully. The reason lay in the fact that social welfare is not a capital intensive sector. Instead it is organisation-oriented; most of the expenditure being incurred through a large number of decentralised agencies at the field level. Therefore, considerable attention is being paid to evolve an innovative structure which would have more efficient capability and yet would be free from the bureaucratic constraints. The Central Social Welfare Board was a step in that direction and now it needs to be reviewed to see what modifications or further innovations are necessary.

The most important single factor which can make a significant difference to the quality of a programme is the personnel that plans and implements it. In India there is now considerable recognition of the importance of adequate training of welfare personnel. Starting wayback in 1936 with just one institution for training of social workers at the postgraduate level, India has now about 46 institutions training social workers at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. The graduates of these schools are largely confined to urban centres in supervisory and administrative positions. Government social service departments and national voluntary welfare agencies had to sponsor and| or run their own training programmes for a large number of field-level personnel required to staff welfare programmes particularly in the rural areas. Trained social workers are now working out their professional relationship with technical and administrative officials on the one hand and with volunteers occupying leading positions in non-official welfare agencies on the other. Although it had not been easy to work out a harmonious interprofessional and intersectoral relationship, the very exposure to such a need has contributed to the growth and maturity of social work profession.

Although it is difficult to forecast the shape and fate of social welfare policies and plans in the near future, it is clear that the next twenty years are going to be decisive. Social welfare might become a generalised concern purpose and pervading through all development activities or it may become a more highly specialised but limited sector containing to serve those in need of special care.

137. Oil Painting by Vasanti Muzumdar

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84. Scene from P. G. Phalkes's first wholly Indian (silent) feature film 'Raja Harishchandra'. Scene shows Dabke and Salunke (1913).
85. The famous Indian love tragedy 'Devdas' written by Sharatchandra and filmed by P. C. Barua in 1935 with K. L. Saigal, top singer-actor, as 'Devdas' and Jamuna as the girl whom he cannot marry.
86. Meena Kumari
Nasir Hussein
Ashit Baram in Bimal Roy's 'Parineeta' (1953).
87. Dilip Kumar, Prithiviraj in 'Mughal-e-Azam' (1960).
88. 'Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baje'
Gopi Krishna and Keshavrao Date in (1955)
89. The Brahmin girl (Shashikala) and the Harijan one (Nutan) brought up together but clashing when they love the same boy in Bimal Roy's 'Sujata' (1959).
90. Raj Kapoor, Nargis, V. H. Desai in Mehboob's 'Andaz'.
91. Internationally famous dancer Uday Shankar with his wife Amala in his first and last film 'Kalpana' (1948), made in the style of a ballet.
92. Sharmila Tagore in her very first role in 'Apur Sansar' (The World of Apu), third part in Satyajit Ray's Apu trilogy. Later, she became an all-India Star.
93. Simi as a tribal girl in Satyajit Ray's 'Aranyer Din Raatri' (Days and Nights in the forest) was another Bombay star to get a coveted role in a Ray film.
94. Jaya Bhaduri (centre) started her career in a Juvenile role in Satyajit Ray's 'Mahanagar' with Amit Chatterji and Madhabi Mukherji.
95. K. A. Abbas Indo-Soviet 'Pardesi' Nargis — Oleg.
96. 'Baluchar 'Koyari' Butta
97. Interlock at border, Kanchipuram (Kanjivaram)
98. Jamdani Tanda
99. *Jambudvipa Pragnyapti*, illuminated Jain ms. Circa 1400 A.D. Courtesy, Hemachandra Acharya Gnyan Mandir, Patan — Tanda Jamdani patterning through textual differences of white on white.
100. *Chhabri Motif*. Courtesy, Shri Chotulal Salvi, Patan. (Gujarat).

101. Kashmir Shawl. The name given to this Paisley pattern in Iran is *Mader-e-bache* (mother and child). Anavian Collection, Courtesy, G. Anavian, Teheran.
102. Details from a pillar, Ajanta Temple.
103. This is a detail of an embroidered hanging, Agra|Lahore, of the late seventeenth century. Courtesy, Swami Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur.
104. Vichitrapur Sari, Orissa. This is an example of Orissa double *ikat*. Courtesy, Subbo Tagore, Calcutta.
105. Paithani, woven at Paithan. Courtesy, National Museum, New Delhi.
106. Asavali. There is a strong input of the expertise developed in the *patka* (girdle) tradition in Asavali. Courtesy, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi
107. Chanderi, seventeenth century. Courtesy, National Museum, New Delhi.
108. Terracotta, Hanuman; Orissa
109. A part of phud painting, Rajasthan
110. Terracotta Horse Rider Gujarat
111. Terracotta, Horse, Gujarat Adivasi
112. Terracotta, Horse, Gujarat
113. Sandle Wood Carving, Rajasthan
114. Carved & Painted Wooden legs, Rajasthan
115. Ivory Carving, Rajasthan
116. Necklace and Ear Ornaments, Rajasthan
117. Decorative Pot Jaipur
118. Warli Wall Painting. (Tribal Art)
119. Rangawali from different states
120. Warli Wall Painting (Tribal Art)
121. Warli Wall Painting (Tribal Art)
122. Warli Wall Painting (Tribal Art)
123. Wall drawing, Pokhra
124. Tribal Girls
125. Ancient Manuscript; Courtesy, University of Bombay
126. Pine forest in the Western Himalaya *(Pinus roxburghii)*.
127. Wet evergreen forest in Arunachal.
128. Pitchar plant in Meghalaya *(Nepenthes khasiana)*.
129. Oak forest in the Western Himalaya *(Quercus floribunda)*.
130. Sal forest in Assam *(Shorea robusta)*.
131. Fir forest in the Western Himalaya *(Abies spectabilis)*.
132. Elephant Monolithic elephant 13th century, Konarak
133. 'Durga' Paper cutting work from Calcutta
134. Shiva (King form) Elephanta, Bombay
135. Madhubani Drawing
136. Collage
137. Oil Painting by Vasanti Muzumdar
138. Vishnu and Laxmi. Couple from Khajuraho

Courtesy
Firoze Rangoonwalla
Weavers' Service Centre, Bombay
All India Handicrafts Board, Regional
Design and Technical Development Centre, Bombay
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay
University of Bombay

ERRATA

Pg.	Col.	Line	Incorrect	Correct
1	2	11	a figurine	figurine
2	1	46	Kerala	Karla
2	2	7	specimens the	specimen are the
4	1	48	least least	least
4	2	55	2-3, XLVII ,	2-3. ibid, (XLVII,
13	1	50	are	is
14	2	20	over head	over her head
17	1	28	come	comes
18	1	40	bread	broad
18	2	34	got	get
22	1	12	etly	ctly
24	1	22	the	of the
24	2	21	inherest	inherent
24	2	35	Phalus	Phallus
25	2	44	as	are the
30	1	17	privilege	privileges
30	1	24	*vadgita*	*Dharma*
31	1	46	arms	aims
50	1	57	he	the
50	2	9	accepted as	accepted as *Prakriti*
52	1	35	give	gives
52	2	9	from	form
52	2	12	Konarak	Konaraka
52	2	16	ecastasy	ecstasy
52	2	37	edition	addition
53	1	20	becomes	become
53	1	23	expres sed	express
64	1	31	Further	further
64	2	14	Tal	Tal,
76	2	26	Vidashaka	Vidushaka
93	2	19	super Flous	Superfluous
94	1	11	silk	silk,
94	1	36	muslins	muslims.[10]
94	1	50	origin,	origin,[11]
,94	2	8	Chanderi,	Chanderi,[12]
94	2	27	Kaushan	Kushan
94	2	39	draw loom	drawloom
100	2	54	mocaics	mosaics

Pg.	Col.	Line	Incorrect	Correct
101	1	43	subtleast	subtlest
101	2	28	Andhara	Andhra
102	2	19	Ras	Raas
107	1	35	take	takes
108	1	6	Rangawalis	drawings.
108	1	12	Rangawali	drawings.
108	1	26	Rangawali	Their style of drawing and painting.
108	1	27	Rangawali	pictures
108	1	43	Rangawali	pictures
108	2	42	naive	naive,
110	1	4	Daman	Daman,
110	1	6	Mizorum	Mizoram
110	2	36	India	Indian
119	1	22	hand	hand,
119	1	24	आमी	अली
119	1	24	मंत्री)	मंत्री),
119	2	27	II	III
119	2	39	चाक, दन्त चक्र	चाक, etc.
119	2	44	गोळ	गॉळ
120	1	12	kagod	Kagad
120	1	46	पानी	पानी,
120	2	11	आमादु	आमोदु
120	2	36	ज	ज)
120	2	40	आहे	आहे,
120	2	45	कठीण अनल	कठीण, अनल
120	2	46	शढ	शठ
125	1	2	fairl	fairly
125	1	3	*Epsedra*	Ephedra
125	2	37	*Acanthaseae*	*Acanthaceae*
126	2	11	from	form
126	2	41	large	larger
126	2	44	Hill,	Hills,
126	2	52	Konpru	Koupru
127	1	17	*Garinia*	*Garcinia*
128	1	26	*Melianlae*	*Melianeae*
128	1	55	*robusta S.*	*robusta (sal) , S.*
132	2	51	elongate	elongata

Pg.	Col.	Line	Incorrect	Correct
136	1	24	are	are thus
136	2	43	cr upawas	or Upawasa.
147	1	44	*Pan*	Pan
147	2	38	etc. very	etc., developed very
148	2	9	advance-ment	advancement,
149	1	9	pillers	pillars
149	1	11	Gods	Gods,
149	2	2	tranlated	translated
150	1	41	X	Xth
150	2	10	Apastambha	Apastambha,
150	2	11	nucleus.	nucleus
150	2	55	varnas	Varnas
155	2	28	(IX-3) Now this verse is the basis	and the following verse is
155	2	32	indepen-dance (IX, 3).	independence" (IX-3).
155	2	39	are	are pleased
155	2	46	Secretly,	secretly),
156	1	22	He	Manu

Pg.	Col.	Line	Incorrect	Correct
156	1	30	1956	1956,
156	1	37	153	158
156	2	2	interna-tional-	international
156	2	16	last — 2000	last 2000
156	2	43	same-Gotra	same Gotra
156	2	56	Egyution	Egyptian
157	1	11	and—	and
157	1	17	the—	the
157	1	31	women	woman
157	2	24	Dharma-shastra	Dharmashastras
163	2	2	"Social	Social
163	2	4	'Where	"Where
164	1	5	cut	out
169	1	7	develop-ment	developmental
169	1	33	2|5 ths	2|5
170	1	27	education	education,

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